THE LIFE AND THEOLOGY OF WILLIAM PERKINS. 1558-1602.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED.

ARG	Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte.
CH	Church History.
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography.
DTC	Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique.
EHR	English Historical Review.
EQ	Evangelical Quarterly.
HLQ	Huntington Library Quarterly.
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History.
JHI	Journal of the History of Ideas.
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies.
MLR	Modern Languages Review.
PRE	Realenencyclopaedie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.
RGG	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.
RHE	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique.
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology.
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.

Unless otherwise stated all books quoted in the footnotes are published in London.

PREFACE.

Since I graduated B.A. in 1957, I have completed the degrees of M.A. and B.D. from the University of New Zealand. For the former I undertook research into the origins of responsible government in New Zealand, a subject which covered two of the six papers in the degree examination. The New Zealand B.D. is not a research degree, but as part of my training for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand I was required to write three exercises. These were virtually small theses-- one in Systematic theology, one in Old Testament and one in New Testament. They were on the following topics -- The Christian doctrine of immortality, Vision and inspiration in Old Testamant prophecy, based on exegesis of the Hebrew text of Isaiah 6, and The Pauline doctrine of baptism, based on the exegesis of the Greek text of Romans 6.

My research in Manchester has been greatly helped by the advice of other scholars. I wish especially to thank my supervisor Professor Rupp, but also must express my gratitude to Professor Wood of Lampeter, Professor Torrance of Edinburgh, Professor Greenslade of Oxford, Professor Trocmé of Strasburg, Professor Kawerau of Marburg, Dr. P. Collinson of King's College, London, Mr. C. Hill of Oxford, Mr. B. Hall of Cambridge, Dr. G. Nuttall of New College, London, Dr. P. Baumgart of Berlin, Dr. B. Hägglund of Lund, Dr. K.P. Klasen of Yale, Herr H.U. Kirchoff of Wuppertal-Barmen and Monsignor

McCreavy of Ushaw College, Durham. I am also deeply indebted to continental libraries for their lists of Perkins' works in their possession. The staff of the University Library have been most helpful, particularly in securing books on interloan. Finally I would like to thank the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission for the opportunity to undertake this research.

CHAPTER ONE THE MAKING OF THE MAN.

(i)

The obscurity into which the Elizabethan puritan William Perkins has fallen is surprising when his contemporary reputation is considered. Born in 1558 to a Thomas and Hannah Perkins in the little village of Marston Jabbet near Coventry,(1) his early life aroused no interest in his seventeenth century biographers.(2) He entered Christ's College, Cambridge in June 1577 as a pensioner, which suggests that there was some money in the family, even though it was not firmly within the ranks of the gentry.(3) Possibly his father was a substantial farmer who sent a brilliant son to university in the hope that he would make a suitable career. Whether his family intended him to enter the church we do not know, but William certainly achieved fame as a minister and writer.

By the end of his life he had become a best-selling author, not only in Britain, but also throughout protestant Europe. At least one contemporary referred to him as "the arch-divine of our times,"(4) while Fuller said, "he hath provided in his works a magazine of learning and religion

1. Sir W.Dugdale, The antiquities of Warwickshire,Coventry, 1765,46, mentions a William Perkins who purchased some church lands after the Dissolution, though the pedigrees in Harl,MSS 1563,fol.183a, and Harl.MSS 1100,fol.110b, which go back to him do not refer to Perkins' parents.
2. T.Fuller,Abel redivivus,1651; The holy state and the profane state,(ed.M.G.Walten),2 vols.,New York,1938; S.Clarke, A general martyrologie,1677.
3. J.Peile, Christ's College biographical register,2 vols., Cambridge,1910. The herald's visitations of Warwickshire in the late seventeenth century do not record the family.
4. Sir. S. D'Ewes, College life in the time of James I,1851,53.

for all generations to come."(1) Henry Smith was the only other religious writer of the time to surpass Perkins in the number of editions of his works printed in England. Perkins, however, was translated into Latin, Dutch, German, French, Spanish, Czech, Hungarian, Welsh and Irish,(2) so that his books spoke "more tongues, than the maker ever understood."(3) His international reputation marked the coming of age of English theology in as striking a way as the work of Hooker. The masterpiece of the latter was, to begin with, a worst seller and did not exert any influence outside the English church,(4) whereas the writings of Perkins marked the beginning of a stream of practical divinity which flowed from England to Europe during the next two centuries, the importance of which is rarely realised in Britain.(5) More than any other scholar of his day, Perkins put England back on the theological map, sending back to its geographical home the hitherto dominant continental theology, enriched by the spiritual fervour and practical genius of the Elizabethan divines of whom he was so notable a representative.

1. Fuller, Abel redivivus,437. Mullinger in the DNB says that "as a writer he continued to be studied throughout the seventeenth century as an authority but little inferior to Hooker and Calvin."
2. See Appendix Two for a list.
3. Fuller, Holy state, 2.71.
4. C.J. Sisson, The judicious marriage of Mr.Hooker,Cambridge, 1940,72.
5. The influence of Bayly, Hall and Baxter must have been considerable judging by the number of their writings printed in Europe.cf.T.G.Georgi,Allgemeines europäisches Bücher-Lexicon,3 vols.,Leipzig,1742-8.

Indeed it has been scholars outside England who have done most to demonstrate his importance and to expound his theology. Apart from the brief biographical studies of Fuller and Clarke and the essentially derivative material in Neal, Middleton, Brook, Cooper, and the Dictionary of National Biography,(1) he has been virtually bypassed by the main stream of English historical scholarship until very recently.(2) The great German scholar Heppe was the first to draw attention to the significance of Perkins in the development of pietism in the reformed churches,(3) though he did not consider him to be of sufficient theological importance to quote him extensively in his handbook on reformed dogmatics.(4) His lead was followed by Van Baarsel whose account of Perkins' life and theology has not yet been surpassed.(5) More recently Lang (6) and Schmidt(7) have produced further studies of Perkins to show his pietist tendencies.

American scholars have also paid considerable attention to his writings. Wright saw his importance as a theological

1. D. Neal, The history of the puritans, 4 vols., 1732-8; E. Middleton, Biographica evangelica, 4 vols., 1779-86; B. Brook, The lives of the puritans, 3 vols., 1813; C.H. and T. Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigienses, Part 1, 2 vols., 1858-61.
2. J.B. Black, The England of Elizabeth, Oxford, 1949; G.R. Elton, England under the Tudors, 1955, do not mention him. and A.L. Rowse, The England of Elizabeth, 1959, 520, dismisses him as a horrid barbarian.
3. H. Heppe, Geschichte des Pietismus, Leiden, 1879.
4. H. Heppe, Reformed dogmatics, 1959.
5. J.J. van Baarsel, William Perkins, The Hague, 1912.
6. A. Lang, Puritanismus und Pietismus, Neukirchen, 1941.
7. M. Schmidt under "Perkins" in RGG and in "Biblizismus und natürliche Theologie in der Gewissenslehre des englishen Puritanismus," ARG, 1951.

populariser and also suggested that his teaching on vocation helped pave the way for later bourgeois attitudes to morality.(1) Miller, in his study of New England theology, has done most to illuminate the intellectual atmosphere in which Perkins lived, as well as seeing his importance for puritan theology.(2) Knappen also contains much useful material (3) and Haller gives a more general discussion on his influence on puritan practical divinity.(4) He is quoted frequently by the Georges,(5) but since their book is about a broader theme they give no systematic account of his thought.

Two British theses have attempted to do this,(6) though neither discusses his patristics and Miss Sisson has not made use of the German and Dutch literature on Perkins. Since then, Hill has produced a suggestive article on Perkins' attitude to the poor, pushing back the Tawney thesis into the late sixteenth century.(7) In his detailed study of Tudor Cambridge, Porter makes frequent references to Perkins and expounds his theology of predestination.(8) Finally, Wood has written a brief introduction on Perkins in his edition of The calling of the ministry.(9) All the above works fail, to a greater or less

1. L. B. Wright, Middle class culture in Elizabethan England, Chapel Hill, 1936; "William Perkins: Elizabethan apostle of practical divinity," HLQ, 1940.
2. "The marrow of puritan divinity," "Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachussets, 1936; The New England mind: the seventeenth century, New York, 1939.
3. M. M. Knappen, Tudor puritanism, Chicago, 1939.
4. W. Haller, The rise of puritanism, New York, 1957. (1938)
5. C. H. and K. George, The protestant mind of the English reformation, Princeton, 1961.
6. R. A. Sisson, William Perkins, M. Litt. thesis, Cambridge, 1952; J. R. Tufft, William Perkins, Ph. D. thesis, Edinburgh, 1952.
7. C. Hill, Puritanism and revolution, 1958.
8. H. C. Porter, Reformation and reaction in Tudor Cambridge, Cambridge 1958.
9. T. Wood, Five pastorals, 1961.

degree, to relate particular aspects of his thought to the whole, or do not see him in the continental perspective which both his sources and influence demand. As a result, his stature has suffered in England, though his theology merits a study which relates him not only to his English environment, but also to his continental contemporaries.

(ii)

He is not alone in this neglect. No adequate study of Hooker's theology has yet appeared and students of the period make confident generalisations about 'puritans', 'anglicans' and 'calvinists' without showing much sign of having come to grips with the thought of men like Baro, Overall, Chaderton, Fulke, Whitaker, Reynolds and Perkins. Yet until a study of these men is undertaken, the meaning of these three important words will remain in its present confused state. The result is that much writing about the Elizabethan church takes the following syllogism too much for granted -- anglicans are not calvinists, puritans are calvinists, therefore puritans are not anglicans.

Consequently many studies of the Elizabethan church distinguish far more sharply between anglican and puritan than the sixteenth century evidence justifies. The reformed antecedents of anglican theology are usually recognised, albeit

reluctantly, by those who wish to identify the true anglican spirit with a 'catholic' tradition which avoided the reformed excesses of bibliolatry and gave reason and tradition their rightful place. This pedigree is usually established by tracing descent from Cranmer, Jewel, Hooker,(1) Andrewes and the Caroline divines. During the reign of Elizabeth Hooker was the supreme representative of this tradition, undermining the intellectual strength of puritanism at the same time as Whitgift and Bancroft were crushing it organisationally.(2) "As puritanism degenerated, genuine theology was beginning to lift up its head. Bilson, Saravia and Bancroft were writing and had struck a much surer note about the constitution of the Church and the claims of the episcopacy."(3) Before Hooker nothing of real theological value appeared, for "he gave the Anglican church its philosophy and theology, its intellectual justification."(4)

While there is no need to detract from the 'catholic' elements in anglican theology, or from the greatness of Hooker, it is a pity that these should be established by the expedient of dismissing the relevance of the substantial

1. E.T.Davies, Episcopacy and the royal supremacy in the Church of England of the XVI century, Oxford,1950,15; W.M. Southgate, John Jewel and the problem of doctrinal authority, Cambridge,Mass., 1962, x.
2. Elton, England under the Tudors, 426-8.
3. L.S. Thornton, Richard Hooker, 1924,10.
4. H.C. White, English devotional literature,prose, Madison, 1931,47,187.

body of puritan thought which had emerged by the end of the sixteenth century. Certainly the theological future was to lie with Hooker and Andrewes, but they did not immediately displace the hitherto dominant reformed, or puritan, theology. Men of the calibre of Fulke, Whitaker, Chaderton and Perkins would be very surprised, as would their contemporaries, to discover that they were not considered to have contributed anything to the development of anglican theology.(1) Perkins was also deeply influenced by the scholarly, humanist tradition handed down through Cranmer and Jewel and owed much to the socially and pastorally sensitive piety of Tyndale, Bradford, Hooper and Latimer,(2) which is indisputably anglican. He believed himself to be a loyal son of the Church of England, offering his Armilla aurea as a mite for her treasury.(3) In the sixteenth century, 'anglican' cannot, then, be restricted to those whose theology is more congenial to modern anglicans than that of Perkins. The term must apply to all members of the English church.

The usage of 'anglican' in the modern sense has all too frequently been accompanied by an over-simple definition of 'calvinism'. Because Hooker is obviously not a faithful

1. I.Walton, Lives, 1817,1.254, betrays no awareness that Perkins is not anglican.
2. Treatise tending, 1.381-96, is extracted from Bradford and Tyndale. Two treatises, Part 1, claims to be in Bradford's tradition.
3. Armilla aurea, To the reader.

disciple of Calvin, it has frequently been assumed that his theology must therefore be a via media between Rome and Geneva, as though these were the only sixteenth century theological alternatives. Thus we find the English church being defined as "reformed, but not Reformed."(1) In actual fact there were considerable variations within the reformed churches even on such important issues as predestination, the sacraments and church-magistrate relations.

Geneva was enormously influential, but the importance of Zurich,(2) Heidelberg(3) and Leyden must not be forgotten, when centres of protestant learning in the sixteenth century are being considered.(4) If puritanism was calvinism naturalised in England, paternity cannot be ascribed to Calvin.(5) That this can still happen(6) is a melancholy testimony to the insularity of English scholarship and the failure to consider the abundant evidence to the contrary

1. Davies, Episcopacy and royal supremacy, 2.
2. M.West, "John Hooper," Baptist Quarterly, 1954-5, discusses the importance of Zurich.
3. The influence of the Tremellius Bible, Ursinus, Olevianus, Tossanus and Zanchius on anglican and puritan theology has not generally been realised.
4. P.Collinson, The puritan classical movement under Elizabeth I, Ph.D. thesis, London 1957, who gives the account of the puritans, remarks, 88, that Geneva was only one of many influences.
5. Thornton, Hooker, 13.
6. Elton, England under the Tudors, 424.

offered by sixteenth century margins.(1) Bucer, Martyr, Bullinger and Musculus all had a considerable English reading public, even if it was not always voluntary in the

1. There are large gaps in our knowledge of the later sixteenth century reformed theology and church life on the continent. W.Köhler, Dogmengeschichte,Zurich,1952,vol.2 has some material, as has H.E.Weber, Reformation,Orthodoxie und Rationalismus, 3 parts,Gütersloh,1937-51 and H.Heppe,Reformed dogmatics. There are valuable articles in A.Hauck (ed.) Realenencyclopaedie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,Leipzig,1896-1913, and in Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart,(ed. K.Galling),Tübingen,1956-62. Many of the leading figures of the period have been covered in biographies, but frequently these contain little discussion of their subject's thought. The series Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begrunder der reformirten Kirche,Eberfeld,1857-62, has valuable extracts, while Vergleichende Darstellung des Lehrbegriffs des lutherischen und reformirten Kirche, by M.Schneckenburger,Stuttgart,1855, deserves to be better known.

Of biographies from last century Fr.W.Cuno, Daniel Tossanus der Ältere,Amsterdam,1898; P.de Félice, Lambert Daneau,Paris,1881; A.Bonnard, Thomas Éraste,Lausanne,1894, are important. I have not been able to obtain J.Marx, Caspar Olevian,Mainz,1846; L.Grote,Wolfgang Musculus,Hamburg, 1855; K.F.Muller,Andreas Hyperius,Kiel,1895. More recently the following have appeared, though their value for a student of puritanism varies. H.Bornkamm, Martin Bucers Bedeutung für europäische Reformationsgeschichte,Gütersloh,1952; W.Pauck, Das Reich Gottes auf Erden,Berlin,1928; J.McClelland, The visible words of God,1957; P.F.Geisendorf,Théodore de Bèze, Geneva,1949; P.Fraenkel,Testimonia patrum,Geneva,1961; A. Bouvier, Henri Bullinger,Paris,1940; P.Walser, Die Prädestination bei Heinrich Bullinger,Zurich,1957; L.Haikola, Gesetz und Evangelium bei Matthias Flacius Illyricus,Lund,1952. G. Moldaenke,Schriftverständnis und Schriftdeutung im Zeitalter der Reformation,Stuttgart,1936; Amandus Polanus,by E.Staehelin, Basle,1955; Christoph Pezel,by J.Moltmann,Bremen,1959; K.Bauer, Aus die grössen Zeit der theologischen Fakultät zu Heidelberg, Lahr,1938; R.Wesel-Roth,Thomas Erastus,Lahr,1954; H.Kressner, Schweizer Ursprüng des anglikanischen Staatskirchentums, Gutersloh,1953 are also useful.

J.Moltmann,"Zur Bedeutung des Petrus Ramus für Philosophie und Theologie,"ZKG,1957; P.Kawerau,"Die Homiletik des Andreas Hyperius," ZKG,1960 are important articles, while D.Frielinghaus, Ecclesia und Vita,Ph.D.thesis,Göttingen,1956,(on Hyperius) and O.Grundler,Thomism and calvinism in the theology of Girolamo Zanchi,Ph.D.thesis,Princeton,1961, both give the only modern discussions of their subjects.

case of the last two.(1) By the end of the sixteenth century, continental influences had become still more complex. The influence of scholars like Hemmingsen, Junius, Hyperius, Illyricus, Ursinus, Tossanus, Olevianus, Zanchius, Gualter, Daneau and Beza was added to the continuing impact of the first generation reformers, but their ideas have received no study in England.

All English divines were heavily indebted to continental scholars and Perkins was no exception. Wright claims that he was an unswerving calvinist.(2) If this means that he was completely loyal to Calvin, this is not true. Careful examination of his writing reveals that his theology has been shaped by other protestant influences besides Calvin. Certainly he thought highly of Calvin,(3) but Martyr figured prominently;(4) Beza was quoted,(5) but so were Zanchius,(6) Olevianus,(7) Tossanus,(8) Junius (9) and Marloratus.(10) The parallels which can be drawn between Perkins' Armilla aurea and Exposition of the creed and The summe of Christianity by Ursinus

1. W.H.Frere, Visitation articles and injunctions of the period of the reformation, 3 vols., Oxford 1910, 3.lviii where Cox of Ely made it mandatory for each parish to possess a copy of Musculus' Commonplaces.
2. Wright, HLQ, 1940, 175.
3. Jude, 3.552; Sermon on mount, 3.210; Gods free grace, 1.735.
4. Discourse of conscience, 1.533; Predestination, 2.629.
5. Armilla aurea, Appendix; Prophetica, 2.673.
6. Case of conscience, Appendix.
7. Creed, 1.234.
8. Grain of mustard seed, 1.640.
9. Exhortation to repentance, 3.411; Prophetica, 2.673.
10. Prophetica, 2.654.

make it certain that Perkins used this work quite extensively.(1)

Nor was he averse to using the writings of lutheran scholars, despite his criticism of the Christology of Brenz (2) and his attacks on Lutheran ideas about predestination. Luther was referred to occasionally,(3) as was Melanchthon.(4) Strigel,(5) Chemnitius,(6) Hemmingsen,(7) Illyricus (8) and Hyperius (9) were also used. Possibly Perkins made wider use of continental theology than other anglicans, but to ignore its importance can lead to quite serious misunderstandings about the uniqueness of 'anglican' theology.

When English theological scholarship is seen in its rightful European context, what strikes the student is not its originality, but its poverty and occasional nature. Large areas of theological terrain remain unexplored by English writers. Even Hooker's masterpiece left many subjects untouched, and was intended to complement the systems of Calvin, Bullinger, Martyr and Musculus, not to replace them.(10) No church can exist without a system

1. cf. Grain of mustard seed, 1.640. Other hints of the influence of Ursinus occur in Sam Ward's reference, Two Elizabethan puritan diaries, (ed.M.M. Knappen), Chicago, 1933, 113, and in Thomas Goodwin's account of Saturday night catechising in Christ's. Haller, Rise of puritanism, 75.
2. Creed, 1.306.(misnumbered 206)
3. Grain of mustard seed, 1.640.
4. Two treatises, To the reader.
5. Grain of mustard seed, 1.644.
6. Ibid, 1.640.
7. Prophetica, 2.673.
8. Ibid, 2.669; Problem, 2.489.
9. Prophetica, 2.673.
10. C.W. Dugmore, The mass and the English reformers, 1958, 246, is not correct when he claims that Hooker's work "marks the end of the direct influence of foreign systems upon the English church."

of theology for nearly forty years,(1) and in the absence of any great English scholar capable of stamping the English church with his genius, it is not surprising that the resulting vacuum was filled by continental importations.

It is not clear why the English church did not produce even a second-rate theologian until the end of the century, whose range of activity matched that of his continental contemporaries in the fields of church history, exposition, patristics, or systematic theology. Continental scholars like Zanchius, Marloratus and Daneau were just as preoccupied with polemic, threatened by invasion and exile, or faced with the task of building up a church reformed in life as well as doctrine. Yet the scope of their writing found no English counterpart until the advent of Perkins.(2) Apart from the small Sacra theologia by Fenner, which appeared in 1585, no system of theology written by an English scholar had been published before Armilla aurea and Exposition of the creed. In such circumstances it is not surprising that the debt of all anglicans to reformed theology was continuing and heavy. Thus if the term 'calvinist' is to be used, it must be given such a broad connotation that it is better to replace the term by 'reformed.'

1. V.L.Dowdell, Aristotle and Anglican religious thought, Ithaca, 1942,31, makes the amazing assertion that "during these times there was no need for systematic theology being written for Anglicans; for the Church was content with her own heritage from the Middle Ages."
2. C.L.Cremeans, The reception of calvinistic thought in England, Urbana,1948,65, points out that before Perkins and Smith began to write, Calvin and Beza were the most frequently published religious authors in England.

If an examination of Perkins' work has led to some re-statement of the meaning of 'anglican' and 'calvinist', it is not surprising that modifications in the meaning of 'puritan' should be necessary. To begin with, this term was apparently applied to the separatists of Plumbers' Hall in the early 1560's, but soon came to be indiscriminately applied to anyone who showed signs of religious earnestness and active ddissatisfaction with the Elizabethan settlement. Perkins called it "a vile term" insofar as it was applied to the godly,(1) but felt that it was applicable to those who held the heretical opinion that men could be without sin in this life.(2) Despite contemporary differences of opinion about this word, it has become a convenient historical label for those who wished for further reform of the church,so long as it is not identified with Geneva and sharply distinguished from being 'anglican.' The Elizabethan church had too many disadvantages of the old order and too few of the advantages of 'the best reformed churches' to be accepted wholly either by those with radical leanings, or a genuine concern about her pastoral deficiencies.

The origins of puritanism are not clear, largely because we do not know enough about the life of contemporary continental churches to be confident about its distinctive features. Certainly there are influences from the Rhineland(3) as well

1. Sermon on mount,3.15.
2. Lords Prayer,1.342; R.Greenham, The workes,1601,148, linked the word with pelagians, papists and the family of love.
3. L.Trinterud, "The origins of puritanism," CH, 1951,37.

as from Zurich and Geneva,(1) but Trinterud stretches the evidence to breaking point when he asserts that what appears to be emerging is an account of puritanism in which "the heritage from medieval English thought and life is the controlling element. Puritanism was indigenous, not exotic, to England."(2) Apart from the fact that the distinguishing characteristics of medieval English piety listed by Trinterud (3) seem to have been common to most of western Europe,and that puritan tendencies appeared in Scotland also, the fundamental critism that can be urged against his thesis is that it postulates a static puritanism and does not take sufficient account of its many-sidedness and continuing development in response to the peculiar situation of the English church.

The boundaries of the movement have become scarcely distinguishable since Collinson has established the existence of a group of moderate puritans. Far from being wedded to presbyterian formulae, their lack of enthusiasm for radical courses played into the hands of the authorities once the radical leadership of the classical movement had been removed. Though their piety was strenuous and deeply evangelical,and their basic interest pastoral and practical,(4) they were not

1. West,Baptist Quarterly,1954-5; E.Choisy, L'État Chrétien Calviniste au temps de Théodore de Bèze, Geneva, 1902 has many interesting parallels to puritan attitudes;cf.475-83.
2. Trinterud,CH,1951,37.
3. Ibid, 50.
4. Greenham, Works,495, complained of those who meddled with discipline "which are senseless and barren, in the doctrine of new birth." Cf.Treatise tending,1.409. R.Baxter, Second true defence,1681,39, says that Perkins and Chaderton both conformed in order to be able to preach.

prepared to further their ends by disobedience to the magistrate,(1) or to solve their problems by separation.(2) In many respects they were heirs of Grindal and included in their numbers ministers like Fulke, Whitaker, Chaderton and Greenham, while their lay support included such eminent public figures as Mildmay, Walsingham, Knollys and Beale. They had close links with Cambridge and it was there that their influence impinged on the young Perkins, helping to shape his attitude to the Church of England, introducing him to the intricacies of reformed theology, and by guiding him through his youthful peccadilloes to savour the miracle of regeneration, they enabled him to become one of the most noted spiritual guides of the day.

(iii)

What was Tudor Cambridge like when the young Perkins came up in 1577? The question is important, for it was in this environment that he grew up, receiving an intellectual and spiritual stamp which never left him.

Though an increasing number of undergraduates did not take orders, the main purpose of the university was to train clergy. Other protestant universities in Europe had frequently had their curricula remodelled to conform to changed theological emphases.(3) Cambridge had seen some

1. Cases of conscience,2.116; Galatians,2.177.
2. Exhortation to repentance,3.425, calls the Brownists blinded and besotted.
3. J.F.Hoogstra,(ed.), John Calvin, contemporary prophet, Grand Rapids,1959,207-8, has a useful account of the teaching given at Geneva.

limited changes, but continuity with the past was still strong.(1) The colleges played a dominant role in teaching and the greater availability of books meant that lectures were less important. Nonetheless student life was strictly controlled and rather strenuous.(2)

It was difficult to avoid imbibing some smattering of sacred truth. Attendance at university sermons, daily chapel services followed frequently by commonplaces on doctrinal subjects, catechising by the fellows and the opportunity to attend disputations gave the average undergraduate a fairly solid grounding in theology, even if he never proceeded M.A. and attended formal lectures in the subject. Energetic tutors would take students even further. Perkins was a pupil of Chaderton,(3) remaining his life long friend, a fact which suggests that his thinking and spiritual experience may have been deeply influenced by this very important Cambridge puritan.(4)

Language studies were weak at both the English universities.(5) No great classical scholar appeared in Elizabethan England; the textual scholarship of Tremellius, Junius and

1. J.B.Mullinger, History of the university of Cambridge from the royal injunctions of 1535 to the accession of Charles I, Cambridge,1884; M.H.Curtis,Oxford and Cambridge in transition, Oxford,1959; W.T.Costello,The scholastic curriculum at early seventeenth century Cambridge,Cambridge, Mass.,1958, all contain useful information.
2. See Porter,Reformation and reaction,50-1, for an example from Corpus Christi.
3. W.Dillingham,Life of Chaderton,Cambridge,1884,5.
4. No adequate study exists which makes use of considerable MSS materials. Pembroke MSS L.C.164 contains a series of his sermons, as well as some by Perkins, suggesting that the student who took them down associated the two men.
5. Mullinger, University of Cambridge, 416-20.

Beza had no English equivalent. The foresight of Cranmer in importing scholars like Tremellius and Fagius to remedy these deficiencies was not shared by any of his episcopal successors. A real weakness in the mastery of biblical languages was the result, which in turn meant that English biblical scholarship did not flower until the following century, in the work of Pococke and Lightfoot.

The main weight of the undergraduate curriculum was placed on acquiring skill in logic and rhetoric. It is not surprising that Perkins' pages read at times like the transcript of a disputation in the schools, with distinctions, objections and syllogisms to guide the reader to the truth of the matter under discussion.(1) Aristotle might have been bypassed occasionally in ethics,(2) but his prestige at Cambridge in matters logical and philosophical was not seriously challenged until the following century.

The logic of Peter Ramus supplemented, rather than replaced, that of Aristotle. Chaderton was responsible for introducing his ideas into Cambridge(3) where they remained influential until the following century, appealing especially to puritans.(4) Ramus was of no permanent

1. Predestination,2.625; Galatians,2.328. Revelation,3.259, "those men are far deceived,who account the arts of logic and rhetoric to be frivolous and unlawful." They were used by the Holy Spirit.
2. Cases of conscience,2.113.
3. Dillingham, Chaderton,5.
4. Miller, New England mind,123-206, gives a brilliant account of this.

philosophical significance,(1) but performed a useful service in removing some of the medieval accretions which had gathered round the study of logic and rhetoric. The relative simplicity of his logic must have seemed a godsend to young undergraduates, anxious to learn the art of disputation in the shortest possible time. The ideas of Ramus had additional appeal to some protestants, because he was himself a convert from Rome and offered a system which appeared to be free from the obscurities of the schoolmen.(2)

Too much weight must not be laid on his theological importance.(3) Certainly many reformed scholars made use of him, including Ursinus, Perkins and Arminius,(4) but Moltmann exaggerates when he suggests that he provided a focus for a revolt against Genevan orthodoxy.(5) There was no trace of this in English puritans who used his ideas, though he was a thorn in Beza's flesh, because of his ideas on a greater measure of congregational participation in the government of the French reformed churches. He perhaps gave an additional impetus to the empirical note in English theology,(6)

1. F.P.Graves, Peter Ramus and the educational reformation of the sixteenth century,New York,1912; W.S.Howell, Logic and rhetoric in England,Princeton,1956; W.J.Ong,Ramus,Cambridge, Mass.,1958; W.andM.Kneale, The development of logic,Oxford, 1962, all give valuable discussions of his importance.
2. R.Hooker,Ecclesiastical polity,2 vols.,1958,1.6.4,criticises Ramus sharply. Beza called him a pseudo-dialectician.
3. Besides the article of Moltmann,ZKG,1957; B.Chagnard, Ramus et ses opinions religieuses,Strasburg,1866; and P.Lobstein, Petrus Ramus als Theologe,Strasburg,1878, discuss his Commentariorum de religione Christiana, Frankfurt,1576.
4. Moltmann,op.cit.,296-7.
5. Ibid,316-7.
6. Ibid,318.

but Perkins could equally well have gained this emphasis from Bradford. The reformed humanism of Arminius which Moltmann traces back to Ramus could also develop in Aristotelian soil, as the work of Hooker shows.

Perkins made use of ramist methods to present his material when he thought it would serve his purpose, especially in his early works like Armilla aurea, Prophetica and Oeconomie. His commentaries and controversial treatises do not have their material ordered so obviously along ramist lines. His use of charts, diagrams and logical synopses are partly derived from Ramus, though there are also medieval precedents of which he was probably aware. Fenner and Beza also used tables occasionally, but Perkins is one of the earliest reformed theologians to use them frequently. This tendency was perhaps derived from his earlier skill in mathematics, and a belief in displaying the working behind a particular conception in order to guide others to the same intellectual conclusion.

He was by no means a slavish disciple of Ramus, only occasionally using ramist terms.(1) In his theory of preaching he modified Ramus's views,(2) he criticised his opinion on Christ's descent into hell (3) and did not follow him on his explanation of the presence in the Lord's Supper.(4)

1. Prophetica, 2.663, uses ramist terms for gathering.
2. Howell, Logic and rhetoric, 229.
3. Creed, 1.230.
4. Moltmann, ZKG,1957,308-9. See Chapter 4.

The influence of Ramus on Perkins can be described as important,(1) though its main impact was on Perkins' methods of presentation,(2) rather than on the content of his thought. Ong is correct when he says that "there is practically no serious and mature scholarship oriented by Ramism in the British Isles."(3)

The influence of the Cambridge puritans on Perkins was of even greater importance than the intellectual tools which his formal education provided, for the pattern of his spiritual experience did much to shape the way in which he deployed his formidable intellectual gifts. In addition to the personal influence of Chaderton and Greenham, his college provided him with a strongly puritan environment, though we do not know whether this was accident, or parental design. To begin with it appears to have made little impact. Fuller tells us

> "quickly the wild fire of his youth began to break out. ...It is not certain whether his own disposition, or the bad company of others betrayed him to these extravagancies. Sure it is that he took such wild liberties to himself as cost him many a sigh in his reduced age. Probably divine providence permitted him to run himself with the prodigal son out of breath, that so he might be the better enabled experimentally to reprove others of their vanity, effectually sympathising with their sad condition, and be the better skilled how to counsel and comfort them on their repentance." (4)

1. Miller, New England mind,339.
2. Van Baarsel, Perkins,82.
3. Ong, Ramus,303-4.
4. Fuller, Abel redivivus,432. Fuller is not a completely reliable historical source. He was sometimes too interested in driving home a moral. W.E.Houghton, The formation of Thomas Fuller's Holy and Profane States,Cambridge,Mass., 1938,169ff.

Just what this sinful youth involved is not certain. Perkins is almost never autobiographical and the traditional story about drunken Perkins did not appear in print before Brook,(1) though the story is of much older vintage.(2) It would seem as if puritan hagiography has embroidered extensively, building a major triumph of grace out of what was probably no more than student enthusiasm for alcohol. To claim as Van Baarsel does, that Perkins' pietist tendencies originate in this conversion from demon drink,is not justified by such slender evidence.(3)

An alternative explanation for Perkins' 'conversion', which deserves tentative consideration, is his change of attitude to astrology. In a unique piece of autobiography prefaced to one of his earliest published works, A resolution to the countriman, he said,

> "I have long studied this art, and was never quiet until I had seen all the secrets of the same: but at the length, it pleased God to lay before me, the profaneness of it, nay, I dare boldly say, idolatry, although it be covered with fair golden shows." (4)

Fuller was not quite certain what to do with this evidence.

1. Brook, Lives of puritans,2.129.
2. I am indebted to the Sächsische Landesbibliothek for this variant, written on the flyleaf of their copy of Catholico reformado by J.Thomas,dated June 3,1714. "The author in his youth was very lewd and irregular in his conversation, but finding in the streets of Oxford a woman beating her son and every now and then telling him she feared he would become as wicked as young Perkins, this he took so much to heart that he presently forsook his former ways of living, and became an exemplar of great piety."
3. Van Baarsel, Perkins,258.
4. Resolution,sig.Bia. Unfortunately this is not reprinted in the 1626-31 edition of the Workes I used, though it is found in the 1612-3 edition.

In his Holy State, he called the tradition that Perkins had been a great student of magic--'uncontrolled', dismissing it as due to popular ignorance about Perkins' skill in mathematics.(1) In the later Abel redivivus he modified this, suggesting that

> "when first a graduate, he was much addicted to the study of natural magic, digging so deep, in natures mine, to know the hidden causes and sacred qualities of things, that some conceive that he bordered on hell itself in his curiosity." (2)

Additional evidence that his 'conversion' was at least partly intellectual is given by Fuller's further statement that once God had reclaimed his giddy conceits and caused his extravagant studies "to be confined and centred to divinity, in a very short time he arrived at an incredible improvement."(3) This would suggest that Perkins' conversion took place after he had graduated B.A. in 1581, for only then would he have been in a position to study divinity exclusively. On the other hand, it is possible that his change of heart did not occur until 1583-4. He graduated M.A. and was elected to a fellowship at Christ's College in the Michaelmas term of the latter year, taking orders at the same time.

It is worth noting that his first work, Foure great lyers, appeared about 1585.(4) This was simply a refutation

1. Fuller, Holy state, 2.89.
2. Fuller, Abel redivivus, 432.
3. Ibid, 433.
4. H.G.Dick, "The authorship of Four great lyers", Library, 1939, establishes a strong case for Perkins' authorship. cf.F.P.Wilson,"Some English mock prognostications,"Library, 1939, for a discussion of this literary genre.

of four current almanacks,(1) achieved by the simple expedient of printing them side by side to demonstrate how ludicrously their forecasts of the weather conflicted.(2) Bound with this work was his Resolution to the countriman, which advanced both theological and common-sense arguments against almanacks.(3) Were these works a literary testimony to his change of heart? The possibility cannot be dismissed. His next work, A fruitfull dialogue concerning the end of the world,(4) was also concerned with astrology and shows signs of familiarity with astrological literature.(5) Three successive works on a similar subject would seem to indicate a rather violent reaction, which could well have stemmed from some sort of conversion experience.

Whatever the real source of Perkins' spiritual experience, there can be no disputing its depth and reality.(6) It led him to minister to the prisoners in the local gaol, which earned him the title of "the gaol-birds chaplain."(7) Fuller added that he soon gathered his own little congregation who "counted it their feast to feed out of the prisoners basket." (8) This ministry cannot have lasted very long, because he

1. E.B.Bosanquet, English printed almanacks and prognostications, 1917,49-50 says that these were by Buckminster,Frende, Twyne and Dade.
2. Foure great lyers,5b.B--rain and wind; F--fair weather; T--temperate weather; D--thunder and lightnings.
3. Resolution, sig.Filia-b,for an example of the latter.
4. This appeared in 1587. Fruitfull dialogue,3.467.
5. Ibid,3.472-3.
6. Treatise tending unto a declaration,gives an excellent insight into Perkins' intensely puritan piety.
7. Fuller, Abel redivivus,433.
8. Holy state,2.89.cf.Knappen, Two puritan diaries,77 for Rogers' visit to Bridewell.

became lecturer at Great St.Andrews in 1584,(1) possibly towards the end of the year, and it is unlikely that Perkins would have been able to preach at the gaol before taking orders earlier in the same year.

(iv)

Perkins' acceptance of this lectureship is one of the clues we have to his non-separating puritanism. Chaderton, Smith, Rogers, Travers, Culverwell, Field and Wilcox all held lectureships, which provided a convenient opportunity for preaching and pastoral work, without problems of episcopal supervision and the need to read a dubiously scriptural Prayer-Book. Sometimes lectureships were a halfway house between separatism and conformity, sometimes they were innocent of separatist overtones and provided an additional teaching ministry within a parish. In Perkins' case it looks as though he passed from one position to the other.

As a young don he was rather more radical in his views than in his later years, so that the opportunity to preach regularly outside his college without being bound to ceremonies must have appeared attractive. Christ's was a turbulently puritan college and by 1586 indiscipline had reached such a

1. J.Morgan, A short history of the church and parish of St. Andrew the Great,Cambridge,1910,34. The parish was in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of Ely and was valued at £10 a year. During Perkins' tenure as a lecturer, there were four vicars. Richard Burton,1584-6; William Wady,1586-95, was a fellow of Peterhouse; Walter Howse,1595-1601, was an M.A. and a prominent disputer in the schools; Simon Tyndall, 1601-, was a fellow of Queen's. Unfortunately no details have survived to show who appointed and paid Perkins.

height that the Vice-Chancellor threatened a visitation. The list of charges was formidable--neglect of statutory times of public prayer, neglect of communion, commonplaces which descended to particulars and were so long that lectures were suffering, failure to speak Latin, neglect of academic dress and dining out of college. We do not know how far Perkins was involved in this, but he signed the successful letter of protest which the Master and Fellows sent off to Cecil in an attempt to avert this threat to their independence.(1)

Fellows of Christ's were frequently before the university authorities for puritan tendencies. Bainbrigg and Johnson, for instance, were in prison for nine months over some objectionable homiletic references to their fellow clergy.(2) Perkins was not involved in such a dramatic clash as this, but appeared before the Vice-Chancellor on I9th January,1587, over the contents of a sermon he had preached on the 13th. He was alleged to have said that kneeling to receive communion was superstitious, as was the minister receiving from himself. In addition, he had called facing east a corruption. Though he managed to clear himself, his replies betrayed a tension between his desire to be subject to lawful authority and his unhappiness about certain aspects of college worship, which contrasts strikingly with the silence about ceremonies in all his printed works.

1. J.Strype, Annals, 4 vols.,Oxford,1822-4,3.1.647,649.
2. Porter, Reformation and reaction,157-61,discusses this.

On the issue of the minister receiving from himself, Perkins denied the charge laid against him.

> "This was my opinion, that in this place it was better to receive from another, because we are 13 ministers, and by this means the minister not only receiveth the sacrament, but also receiveth an approbation from his brother that he is a worthyreceiver."

On kneeling to receive the elements, he had merely said that sitting was more convenient, "because Christ sat, the Pope he kneeleth. And in things indifferent we must go as far as we can from idolatry," a position which he believed was supported by Calvin, Jewel and Bucer. He did not condemn those that knelt with a good conscience, but it was clear that his conscience was not in that position. "I beseech you, how can we altogether clear ourselves, which sitting before, fall down of our knees, and having received it, rise up again, and so do in like manner unto the wine."

His reply to the final charge showed that he would gladly have been rid of the custom, even though it was indifferent.

> "This I marvel at, why the cross standeth still in the window, and why we turn ourselves toward the end of the chapel, at the end of the first and second lesson. We are commanded to fly every show of evil."

Altogether his attitude was remorseful rather than repentant. He agreed that he might have spoken at a better time and more convenient,(1) but appears to have satisfied the authorities sufficiently for no further action to be taken.

1. Baker MSS 30,fol.292-3, gives a convenient transcript. Corpus Christi Bursary MSS,Miscellaneous documents,1430-1700,No.51, contains the official minutes of the trial.

Though there is no evidence that Perkins ever thought of the Church of England as anything other than "a true and holy form of serving God,"(1) from which there was no reason to separate,(2) his later views were mellower than those held in his youth. In his Exposition of the Lords Prayer, 1592, he did not say anything about the Prayer-Book, but in his commentary on the same passage ten years later, he could call it "necessary and profitable."(3) He explicitly repudiated the position of Barrow and Greenwood that read prayers were an abomination.(4) By the time he married in 1595 and resigned his fellowship the importance of his lectureship must have become apparent and led him to refuse the many offers of preferment he received.(5) In the same year he had taught that there were two orders in the church--pastors and teachers.(6) Presumably he saw himself as one of the latter, influencing through his position many a young student who desired to be a painful preacher.

He had, however, been associated with the classical movement, though by no means one of the leaders. His interest appears to have been pastoral rather than presbyterian, for he never once discussed the details of church government in

1. Combat of Christ and the devil,3.389.
2. Ibid. "Till we separate from Christ, none should sever themselves from our church, ministry, and service of God."cf.for a similar opinion,Greenham,Works,273, and H.Smith, Sermons, 1607,147-8.
3. Sermon on mount,3.120.
4. Ibid,3.119.
5. Revelation,Epistle dedicatorie,by R.Hill; Fuller, Abel redivivus,435.
6. Revelation, 3.324.

his writings. If Heylyn is wrong to call him "a professed presbyterian",(1) and there is no surviving evidence for the assertion of Brook that he had subscribed to the discipline,(2) Miss Sisson makes him too loyal a son of the church when she says his attendance at the Cambridge Synod of 1589 was in "a simple spirit of enquiry."(3) As one of the moderate puritans. his interest went beyond that, though once the movement showed no promise of yielding pastoral dividends, he played an important part in re-directing puritan activities into exclusively pastoral channels.(4) Certainly the political power of puritanism diminished in the 1590's, but thanks to men like Perkins its spiritual and theological influence increased rather than waned, though it was no longer in a position of undisputed theological leadership.

Unfortunately, nothing equivalent to the minute book of the Dedham classis has survived to tell us whether Perkins was associated with the similar group which met in Cambridge, as early as July, 1582. His close friendship with Chaderton, who was one of the leaders of the Cambridge puritans and unquestionably deeply involved in the classical movement,

1. P.Heylyn,Aerius redivivus,Oxford,1670,342.
2. Brook, Lives of puritans,2.131.
3. R.A.Sisson, "William Perkins,apologist for the Elizabethan church of England," MLR,1952,500.
4. Fuller, Church history of Britain,3 vols.,1837,3.9.121,says Perkins never meddled publicly with the discipline and "being pressed by others about the lawfulness of subscription,he declined to manifest his opinion therein, glad to enjoy his own quiet, and to leave others to the liberty of their own consciences." Galatians,2.324,laid down that once truth was confessed,"all contentions laid aside, we must set ourselves to build the church. And the rather ministers of Gods word in England must remember this: because while we are striving among ourselves in sundry points of difference, the papist...gets ground."

makes it almost certain that Perkins would have known what was discussed at the Cambridge Synods of July and September 1587, even though he did not attend such a meeting until September, 1589. This meeting took place in Whitaker's rooms at St. John's and besides Perkins, Cartwright, Chaderton, Snape, Fludd, Gifford, Stone, Barber, Albon and Barrow were present, with a local minister called Harrison acting as moderator. All this came out in 1591 when Cartwright and his associates were on trial for the part that they had played in the classical movement.(1) Perkins was called as a witness by the prosecution. He did not discover his brethren as Brook asserted.(2) In fact the transcript of his answers to a formidable list of questions shows conclusively that he was a very unhelpful witness.(3)

He clearly knew far more than he was prepared to disclose and when he did not refuse outright to answer, his replies were distinctly evasive. The seventh question asked whether there had been meetings "to conclude, debate, or order how the foresaid discipline might best be advanced or practised.?" Perkins replied that "he doth not know that any minister did at any time meet at any place to the purpose to conclude, debate or order how the said discipline might be advanced or practised."(4) He agreed that the

1. A.F.Scott Pearson,Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan puritanism,Cambridge,1925,331-8; Collinson,Puritan classical movement, 1011-1144, give discussions of the trial.
2. Brook, Lives of puritans,2.133.
3. Perkins' depositions are found in the Public Record Office, Star Chamber,5A/49/34. I am indebted to Dr.Collinson for the loan of a transcript,originally made by the late Miss Bibby.
4. Star Chamber,Ibid,fol. 1b.

meeting had discussed "whether the rules and method of the said book of discipline called Disciplina Ecclesia etc.were agreeable to the Word of God or not."(1) Asked who the 'student' was in whose rooms the meeting had been held, he began by praying the court not to compel him to depose, but had this erased from the record for the words "for his conscience sake forbeareth to set down."(2) He also refused to say who had been present besides Cartwright and Snape, for in his conscience "he cannot safely betray information not being complained of." The clerk added "and more he saith not to the interrogatory."(3) On the same grounds he refused to say who the moderator was "who propounded the questions there debated of and noted every mans opinions upon the same."(4) Among the questions discussed had been the thorny problem of receiving the sacraments from non-preaching ministers. Agreement had not been reached on this matter.

Some light on his unco-operative attitude can be found in his commentary on Hebrews II which he was preaching at this time. From Rahab's example, he deduced that "a Christian man in the time of persecution and danger, is not to discover his fellow brethren, or to detect them; but must rather endanger his own life by concealing them for

1. Star Chamber, 5A 49/34,fol.2a.
2. Ibid; Porter, Reformation and reaction,194, discusses the part played by Alvey in obtaining this room.
3. Star Chamber,fol.2b.
4. Ibid,fol.3a.

their preservation."(1) He gave a rather fuller discussion of the problem in his later commentary on Galatians. He distinguished between lying, feigning and concealment. The first, which involved intent to deceive, was unlawful. Concealments, which he defined as not speaking what we know, "if there be a reasonable cause, and if it be not necessary for us to reveal the thing concealed, are not unlawful."(2) Feigning implied something spoken, not contrary to,

> "but beside or divers to that which we think. And this kind of feigning, if it be not to the prejudice of truth against the glory of God, and the good of our neighbour, and have some convenient and reasonable cause, is not unlawful."(3)

Perhaps, in the mouths of the godly, such principles did not mean quite the same as the Jesuit doctrine of equivocation which Perkins denounced,(4) but the difference was one of degree rather than kind.(5)

Yet if we class Perkins with the moderate puritans, the difficulty of fixing any precise boundary to this label is illustrated by the disputes which occurred over grace and predestination at Cambridge following a sermon preached by Barrett, the chaplain of Gonville and Caius, on 29 April,1595. (6) Though Baro, Overall, Andrewes and Saravia did not support the puritan protest that ensued, Whitgift did not

1. Hebrews,3.171.115.
2. Galatians,2.183.
3. Ibid.
4. Cases of conscience,2.93.
5. Chaderton, for instance, had written to Cecil denying that this meeting had ever taken place! Collinson, Puritan classical movement,1012.
6. Porter, Reformation and reaction,314ff. gives an excellent outline of these disputes and their significance.

agree with the doctrines held by Barrett, though he did try to moderate the courses taken by the heads of the Cambridge colleges, who defended their concept of anglican orthododxy with excessive vigour. Barrett complained bitterly, in a letter to Whitgift, about the harshness of his treatment compared with that meted out to Perkins for his unorthodox opinions about Christ's descent into hell. "And this, whatever that it be that I have laid down, yet I have not exposed it in English. Should I not therefore be left alone, as well as he?"(1)

(v)

Apart from these brief appearances into the realm of fact, little record has survived of Perkins' activities. None of his correspondence has come to light. Apparently he corresponded with people in Europe, because Georgi mentions his Epistolae latinae et gallicae, printed in Eleuteropolis, in 1676.(2) No copy of this work appears to have survived in any of the major west European libraries. The names of the people to whom he dedicated his works suggest that he had many influential acquaintances,(3) though the only trace of this is a brief entry in Lady Hoby's diary. On 12th November, 1600, he had dinner with her husband.(4)

1. J.Strype, The life and acts of John Whitgift,3 vols.,Oxford, 1822.2.237.
2. Georgi, Allgemeines europäisches Bücher-Lexicon.
3. These included the Earl and Countess of Bedford, the Earl of Kent, the Countess of Cumberland, Sir Edward Dennie, Sir William Bowes, Sir William Knight, Sir William Periam and Robert Beale.
4. The diary of Lady Margaret Hoby,(ed.D.M.Meads),1930,153.

Perkins married Timothye Cradocke on 2nd July, 1595, to enter "the most excellent and perfect society, which is in this world."(1) Sam Ward, who frequently recorded trivial details about Perkins in his diary, evidently felt that with his hero gone, Christ's would not be the same. He wrote on July 5th, "Good Lord, grant...there follow no ruin to the college."(2) The marriage produced seven children, three of whom died in their childhood.(3) Timothye's brother, Nathaniel, was a wealthy man.(4) Possibly she brought Perkins a fairly solid dowry, for Perkins died in comfortable circumstances. His goods and chattels were worth £121/7/2, while there was £281/9/2 left in cash above this amount.(5) His library, which was purchased by William Bedell,(6) was valued at £53/10/-, though unfortunately it was not itemised in the inventory attached to the will.

His death occurred on 22nd October, 1602, after several weeks' intense suffering from the stone. Accounts of his death vary slightly. Fuller dramatised, saying that he died crying, 'Mercy, Mercy.'(7) Middleton tells us that

1. Epieikia, 2.436. He had written this book about marriage while still a bachelor.
2. Knappen, Two puritan diaries, 109.
3. Harl.MSS 7038,fol.252b; Harl.MSS 7033,fol.277b. Joseph,bapt. May 9,1596,buried a year later; Abigail,bapt.July 10,1597; Anna,bapt.Sept.10,1598; Josias,bapt.Sept.23,1599,buried May 30,1610; William,bapt.Oct.5,1600; William,bapt.Jan.24,1602; Sarah,bapt.Jan23,1603.
4. D'Ewes, College life,54.
5. His will is in the University Archives. A transcript is given in Baker MSS 26, fol.113-4.
6. T.W.Jones,(ed.) A true relation of the life and death of William Bedell, 1872,6.
7. Fuller, Holy state, 2,91.

just before his death, hearing someone pray for the mitigation of his pains, he cried, 'Hold, hold! do not pray so; but pray the Lord to give me faith and patience, and then let him lay on me just what he please.'(1) Ward gives a less varnished account, saying that when asked what he wanted, he answered, 'nothing but mercy'; adding, "God knows his death is likely to be an irrecoverable loss and a great judgement to the university, seeing there is none to supply his place."(2)

In appearance he was short and corpulent, with a withered right hand. He was reserved to strangers, but to his friends was apparently a very pleasant companion. Unfortunately his writings give us few suggestions about his personality. For the present we must confine ourselves to a discussion of his thought and influence.

1. Middleton, Biographia evangelica,2.323.
2. Knappen, Two puritan diaries, 130.

CHAPTER TWO THE RULE OF FAITH AND LIFE.

(i)

"Thou art a minister of the Word: mind thy business." In these words, written in the flyleaf of his books, Perkins reminded himself of the seriousness of the task of bringing men face to face with God.(1) Since Jesus' death and resurrection, the Word of God, found in the Bible, was the means which God had appointed to guide men to faith and to direct them in their life. So far as he was able, Perkins took this book as the norm of his thinking. It gave him his presuppositions and corrected his conclusions. Without some understanding of his view of scripture, any attempt to analyse his theology is doomed to failure.

Scripture possessed this unique position because men could neither discover how to serve God, nor achieve what they knew was right. Certainly men retained a limited capacity to rule their own affairs, to order civil societies and lead respectable lives. They could also be religious to a surprising degree, attending worship, reading scripture and attempting to honour God.(2) A reprobate could perform all the demands made by the papists,(3) but in the last resort all that men did, whether civil or religious, was blighted by the legacy of Adam. Misled by a corrupted will, reason left to its own devices led to moral hypocrisy, will-worship and idolatry.

1. Brook, Lives of puritans,2.131.
2. Gods free grace,1.728-9.
3. Treatise tending,1.396-404,contains a section which discusses the way in which this is possible.

The fatal weakness of the will in divine matters was exposed by men's refusal to use their natural powers fully. "They use not the good means of salvation so far as they are able to use them by the strength of nature."(1)

God answered the problems posed by the fall by sending a series of prophets to recall men to the covenant of grace, summing this up in his Son, who not only finally clarified the message of salvation, but also conferred the new life without which right knowledge would have remained an historical as distinct from a saving faith.(2) The writings of the prophets and apostles provided the sum of saving knowledge, though they did not contain answers to every question which human curiosity devised.

This remedy for the shortcomings implied in 'human' and 'reasonable' had graciously been accomodated to human weakness. Instead of dazzling men with his majesty, God

> "doth abase himself, and as it were lay aside his honour and might, and speaketh unto us after the manner of men, even to the capacity of the most simple. Which teacheth us, that it is the good will and pleasure of God, that not only the learned, but even the unlettered and most ignorant, should have and understand the holy scriptures."(3)

Without this knowledge, the will of God would have remained hidden. Therefore it was to be obeyed implicitly.

Such a demand was not irrational, because scripture "sets down things that no mans heart can imagine, and yet are true

1. Gods free grace,1.729.
2. Creed, 1.123-4 classifies faith as historical, temporary, miraculous and saving. Z.Ursinus, The summe of Christian religion, Oxford,1587,272-5, had the same categories.
3. Mans imaginations,2.456.

by experience."(1) Men knew that there was a God, but not that he was a redeemer. This was not simply absence of information, but was also rebellious and wilful ignorance which could only be cured by submission to the Word. There was no point in following the Word only insofar as it agreed with reason.(2) Reason needed to be crucified, so that it could live in obedience to God.(3) "In obedience to God we must do as blind men do...,fearing nothing, but trusting to the faithfulness of his power."(4) In the order of nature men should believe nothing of which they had no experience. In the Lord's matters belief preceded experience.(5) The gap was bridged by faith. This was solidly reformed doctrine, but Perkins' definition of faith shows signs of change, when compared with Calvin's.

Though he frequently defined faith with reference to Christ, especially in his earliest works,(6) he laid more emphasis on the relationship of faith to the Word. It was "a gift of God, whereby we give assent or credence to Gods Word."(7) He held that "it is all one to say, the saving promise, and Christ promised," is the object of faith,(8) for he believed that Christ stood at the heart of scripture.

1. Cases of conscience,2.54. Treatise tending,1.391,"I find mine inward experience as a commentary unto me."
2. Hebrews,3.69.
3. Galatians,2.216.
4. Hebrews,3.69.
5. Appendix three, Sermon three.
6. Treatise tending,1.362; Armilla aurea,1.79. The change appears in Hebrews;cf.Hebrews,3.2 and 3.58 for both views. A later definition is found in How to live well,1.476-7.
7. Creed,1.123;cf.Jude,3.518.
8. Creed,1.124.

Other reformed theologians said much the same.(1) He did not ignore the other elements of the reformed doctrine of faith, but there were signs of the rationalism which was to afflict later orthodoxy, once faith was identified with scripture,and confidence and repentance were treated as fruits of faith. Perkins taught the latter,(2) adding that the persuasion of God's mercy in Christ was implanted in the mind by the Holy Spirit resolving the conscience that the promise of salvation contained in scripture applied. Earlier reformers had not discussed faith within such an ordered framework. Perkins was evidently anxious to delimit the meaning of justification by faith alone in such a way as made it abundantly clear that salvation was all from God, without any suspicion of unreliable human co-operation. His whole discussion moved within a circle of grace. Without the conviction that the scriptures were the Word of God, "it is not possible that we should conceive and hold a faith in the promises of God."(3) Yet this faith was also worked by the Word, "for as God is the author and worker of faith, so God hath appointed a means whereby he works it, and that is his Word."(4)

The divine origin and reliability of the scriptures was guaranteed in two ways. The testimony of the Holy Spirit

1. C.Olevian,An exposition of the symbole,1581,56-7; Ursinus, Summe of religion, 270-1; P.Martyr, Commonplaces,1583,3.3.2; H.Zanchius, Confession of Christian religion,Cambridge,1599, 9-10.
2. Creed,1.125.
3. Galatians,2.171; W.Musculus,Commonplaces,1562,163a-b.
4. Hebrews,3.39.

assured the believer that the Word was divine,(1) and his inspiration of the writers removed any possibility of human error, in either the words or the matter. Writers became the pen-men of the Holy Ghost,(2) so that Perkins could say confidently of a passage of scripture, "the Holy Ghost saith ..."(3) The mode of inspiration varied. Dreams, visions and inward motions were all used, the important consideration being that nothing human, and potentially sinful, marred the transmission of the message of salvation. God "would not have their minds troubled with the fellowship of the body, nor hindered of the senses inward or outward; but wholly taken up for the service of his Spirit."(4) God was the beginning and end of all their writings, so that even when they quoted other human writers while under the influence of the Spirit, these also received the divine imprimatur.(5) This theocentric origin of scripture was confirmed, negatively, by the way in which the writers were unconcerned about setting forth their own genius or virtue, but acknowledged their own failings without embarrassment--"a plain proof, that they were not carried by policy, and natural reason, but were holy men guided by the Holy Ghost."(6) This experience was unique. Other men might reach great heights of insight and write profitable books, but their works were different in kind

1. Cases of conscience,2.56; J.Calvin, Institutes,Edinburgh, 1843,1.7.
2. Galatians,2.170.
3. Revelation ,3.210.
4. Revelation, 3.238-9.
5. Hebrews, 3.184.
6. Cases of conscience,2.54.

from those produced under divine inspiration. Only the latter had final authority, and through them the risen Christ ruled his church. There was no longer any need for apostles and certainly no place for traditions. The task of the ministry was only to expound and apply the Word.(1)

Scripture's divine origin removed any doubts about its authority and reliability. It was to be obeyed as if it "had been written without man, by the finger of God."(2) Otherwise, God would have exposed its errors as remorselessly as he had shown up the false prophets.(3) Giving a list of the essentials of belief, Perkins placed the inspiration of scripture first,(4) adding in another context that inspiration was the chief principle of divinity, for "this principle is the demonstration of all doctrines, and conclusions; and it hath no principle above itself, whereby it is to be confirmed." Divinity had this axiom, just as other sciences had theirs. "As for human reason, it is no principle of religion."(5)

Though Perkins placed the main weight of his arguments for the divine origin of the scriptures on the testimony of the Holy Spirit, he did not hesitate to point out subordinate rational and historical testimonies, hoping thereby to close any intellectual chinks through which the spirit of unbelief

1. Reformed catholike,1.609; Martyr,Commonplaces,1.3.13.
2. Galatians,2.159;cf.W.Whitaker, A disputation on holy scripture,(ed.W.Fitzgerald),Cambridge,1849,296.
3. Cases of conscience,2.54.
4. Jude,3.492.
5. Galatians,2.334.

could waft.(1) He argued, for instance, that scripture was unique in the way it exposed the roots of human sin. No human writings ever penetrated so unerringly to the hidden depths of personality. In addition, there were the miracles and fulfilled prophecies it recorded, and its simple majesty of style which "doth more affect the heart of man, than all the writings in the world whatsoever."(2) Men might successfully resist other books which crossed their affections, but the way in which the scriptures triumphed over rebellious hearts showed "that God is the author thereof, from whom the word of creation came, to which everything at the first yielded obedience."(3) Nor was there any other book which could permanently comfort a wounded conscience, which demonstrated that it came from the same God who had first set it on the rack.(4)

Having outlined some proofs based on the Bible's effect on the human heart, Perkins turned to expound its antiquity, its preservation from the attacks of Satan and its truthfulness, which contrasted strikingly with the human histories written before the time of Ezra and Nehemiah.(5)

If a potential sceptic asked Perkins how divine truth had survived uncorrupted before it had been recorded by Moses, there was a ready reply. The long lives of the patriarchs

1. Cases of conscience,2.54ff.; Galatians,2.170;cf.Calvin, Institutes,1.8; Ursinus, Summe of religion,20-28;Whitaker, Disputation,293-5.
2. Cases of conscience,2.55.
3. Ibid;cf.Hebrews,3.13.
4. Cases of conscience,2.55
5. Ibid.

and frequent revelations of God combined to preserve it from adulteration by human error.(1) Since the time of Moses, tradition had not been used by God to teach any doctrines necessary for salvation. Papists had fallen into error by failing to stick closely to the written Word, adding to its traditions which were human in origin and therefore theologically valueless. This declension was due to the wiles of the devil, who stirred up in the readers of the scriptures "many motions and temptations, not to believe and obey it."(2)

To ensure that none of his audience would be led by the seeming contradictions of the Bible to imagine that it was not sufficient for salvation, Perkins answered some common objections to the consistency of scripture. He believed that the word, once written,

> "agrees with itself most exactly, and the places that seem to disagree may easily be reconciled; which shows that the holy men by whom it was penned, were not guided therein by their own private judgement, but were directed by the wisdom of the Spirit of God,"(3)

a principle which was of basic importance in Perkins' hermeneutics. Neither he, nor any other protestant theologian claimed that the scriptures were free from obscurities,(4) or that they were so clear that no commentaries were needed, but they insisted that the foundations of faith were clear

1. Sermon on mount, 3.222; Whitaker, Disputation, 560, 652-3.
2. Cases of conscience, 2.56.
3. Cases of conscience, 2.55-6.
4. Hebrews, 3.112.

enough for the simplest to understand if he was obedient to the Holy Spirit.(1) There was no need for the church to hand down an interpretation. Scripture was its own interpreter. Indeed, its simplicity was such that Perkins warned against the pride of those who felt that the study of the Bible was so simple that it was beneath them. Such an attitude could only mean human wisdom was more highly valued than the foolishness of God.(2)

The kinds of problems which he discussed show clearly that the reformed doctrine of scripture was not formulated by the simple process of ignoring difficulties. It was still possible to explain these problems in a manner which did not conflict with secular knowledge. Indeed the more one studies their doctrine, the more one admires the capacity of men like Perkins to integrate their knowledge. That we can no longer accept their arguments without drastic restatement should not blind us to the contemporary strength of their theology of scripture.

Perkins discussed such matters as whether there could be three 'days' before God had made the sun, how man could have been made from earth, when human learning taught that the creatures were composed of all four elements of matter.(3) He also devoted considerable attention to the inconsistencies of biblical narratives, such as the differing accounts of

1. Prophetica,2.654.
2. Sermon on mount,3.61.
3. Cases of conscience,2.57.ff.

David in I Samuel 16.19 and 17.53 and the problem of how all the animals fitted in the ark.

The latter is one of his most interesting solutions, for it shows the way in which 'science' and religion were fairly convincingly harmonised by sixteenth century apologists. After some careful calculations, Perkins pointed out that the ark was five times longer than the temple of Solomon, and two and a half times its breadth, measuring in all 15,000 square cubits for each storey. Only 150 species of animal needed to be accommodated(mules for instance could be re-bred, while serpents and creeping things bred by putrefaction). Birds would take up little space and only about forty species were of such a size that space was something of a problem for them. This meant that there were approximately fifty square cubits for every kind, "which in all likelihood might well suffice them all one with another, specially seeing all were not of an equal greatness."(1)

Another example of the way Perkins' sanctified interest in mathematics and astronomy helped him to demonstrate the luminous truth of the scriptures came out in A digest, or harmonie of the Old and New Testaments, 1597. He marvelled at the way in which the dates of the Bible corresponded with those arrived at by astronomers. This relationship of nature and grace was "a notable argument to prove the truth of the holy scriptures."(2) There were considerable differences

1. Cases of conscience,2.58.
2. Digest,2.682.

between the interpretations of biblical mathematics,(1) but Perkins felt that they did not undermine the authority of the text. He appealed for tolerance about differences of interpretation which were not fundamental to the faith (2) and by setting out appropriate principles of interpretation hoped to remove some of the differences which vexed protestants.

(ii)

Though hints on interpretation of scripture are found in many of his works,(3) he set out his principles most clearly in Prophetica, first published in 1592. At first sight, it appears odd that these were discussed in a treatise on preaching, but Perkins believed that the Word preached and applied was the chief means by which men were brought to salvation. Bad or inadequate interpretation resulted in loss of impact on the hearers and could well bring eternal disaster to some who, as a result, had rejected the preacher's message.

His hermeneutics were not original, but illustrate his gift for popularising the best continental scholarship for his English audience, and giving them a treatment which set out the essentials of the subject in a clear and orderly manner. He drew on three main sources.

All protestant exegetes were indebted to Erasmus whose

1. Creed,1.143,gave the following alternative datings for the period from creation to Jesus's birth. Melanchthon,3963 years; Bullinger and Tremellius,3970; Jerome,3952. Perkins gave the figure as 3967. Digest,2.720.
2. Ibid,To the reader, "It is not my mind to limit, to detract, or to accuse any man. In all things as near as I can, I aim at the truth, at least at that which is next to the truth. There is strife too much already,and these are not times for striving, but for praying."
3. Mans imaginations,2.480--observe the sense and meaning, ask if we have experience of it, and if we have obeyed it.

insistence on the use of the original languages rather than the Vulgate,(1) had done much to undermine the authority of traditional biblical interpretations.(2) Perkins took this for granted,(3) although his own exegesis did not reveal the mastery of Hebrew and Greek which other commentators like Calvin and Martyr displayed. The use of original languages in exegesis would not be questioned today, but in the sixteenth century conservative Roman Catholics frequently rejected the relevance of Hebrew and Greek. Even when original languages were used, they were subordinated to the text of the Vulgate, and Roman Catholics sometimes used some astonishing arguments in its favour.(4)

Luther added theological fuel to humanist fire. He broke with the traditional fourfold sense (literal, allegorical, tropological and anagogical) because of his growing understanding of Christ's centrality in scripture. Scripture led to Christ, if it was interpreted as it stood. Not only was its authority self-authenticating, but the surest means of clarifying its difficulties was to compare scripture with scripture. There was no need for the church to give scripture either authority, or a meaning, for if the literal sense was adhered to its testimony to Christ was unequivocal, except

1. H.Schlingensiepen, "Erasmus als Exegeet," ZKG,1929.
2. W.Schwarz, Principles and problems of biblical translation, Cambridge,1955,164-5.
3. Prophetica, 2.653.
4. Whitaker, Disputation,222-34, discussed some of these.

to those who were blinded by sin.(1)

These principles, combined with Luther's expository genius, initiated a radical change in exegesis. Other protestant scholars supplemented and refined the principles which Luther had used, but it was a considerable time before another such change of perspective occurred. One of the most important systematisers was Illyricus, whose Clavis Scripturae was the first treatise to combine humanist and theological insights into a hermeneutical handbook.(2) This work gave Perkins his third source of material.(3)

Perkins insisted that a divine book needed a divinely guarded interpretation, if its message was to be preserved from human error. Truth could be found in Christ who was "the substance or subject-matter of the whole Bible,"(4) or through the Holy Spirit, because "he that makes the law, is the best and highest interpreter of the law."(5) From his prophetic authority over his church, it followed that "the sovereign authority of expounding the scripture, only belongs to Christ: and the church hath only the ministry of judgement and interpretation committed to her."(6) Nothing should be allowed to draw the Christian from Christ. Deprived of

1. The recent editions of Luther's Romans, 1962, and Early theological works, 1961, edited by W.Pauck and J.Atkinson, have valuable discussions on Luther's exegesis. See also J.Pelikan, Luther the expositor, St.Louis, 1959, and G.Ebeling, "Die Änfange von Luthers Hermeneutik," ZTK, 1951.
2. G.Moldaenke, Schriftverständnis und Schriftdeutung im Zeitalter der Reformation, Stuttgart, 1936, discusses this.
3. Prophetica, 2.669, where Perkins quotes the work.
4. Galatians, 2.179; Revelation, 3.353.
5. Prophetica, 2.651; Sermon on mount, 3.19-20.
6. Armilla aurea, 1.30.

his foundation, a spiritual building would collapse. Even the church could undermine men's loyalty to Christ. Her task was to witness to scripture. If the testimony of scripture and the teaching of the church conflicted, the latter could only be in the wrong. It was nothing less than a foundation for atheism to say that the credit and authority of scripture was dependent on the church.(1) Admittedly scripture had been recorded after the founding of the church, but Perkins drew a distinction between the substance and the words of scripture which he believed refuted papist attempts to justify their position from this argument. The substance of scripture existed before the church, "yea, without the Word of God, there can be no church."(2)

This, in brief, was the theology underlying Perkins' contention that scripture itself bore witness to its self-authenticating and self-interpreting character. An indissoluble relationship existed between its words, Christ and the Holy Spirit--a bond which was only obscured by human sin. He quoted Nehemiah 8.8 to clinch this point, though the translation he quoted was theologically biassed on this point.(3) On this basis, he argued that any remnants of the medieval fourfold sense "must be exploded and rejected."(4) There was

1. G.Tavard, Holy writ or holy church,1959,gives a useful account of the development of the Roman Catholic position.
2. Hebrews,3.16.; Prophetica,2.649.
3. Prophetica,2.651. The reading of the Tremellius Bible, 'per scripturam ipsam' was not supported by the Geneva Bible which read instead, 'gave the sense,and caused them to understand the reading.'
4. Prophetica, 2.65I; Whitaker, Disputation,405-10.

only one sense in scripture and that was the literal one. 'Literal' was not to be taken narrowly. The full sense of the Holy Ghost was "not only the bare history, but also that which is thereby signified."(1) Use of allegory, for instance, was not excluded, provided it was kept subordinate to the literal sense. Perkins laid down the following rules on their use.

> "Let them be used sparingly and soberly. Let them not be far fetched,but fitting to the matter in hand. They must be quickly dispatched. They are to be used for the instruction of the life, and not to prove any point of faith."(2)

The departure from medieval precedent came in the last clause. Nor was typology eschewed. It was part of the literal sense, because many Old Testament passages had a double reference. To ignore their reference to Christ was to fail to grasp the depths in the literal meaning.(3) Perkins did not fully live up to his own principles. He divided the Old Testament into only three categories of books--historical, prophetical and dogmatical.(4)

It was an important hermeneutic principle to insist that the text must always be taken as it stands,(5) rather than reading into it one's own interpretation. The short history of protestant exegesis showed that this was not so dazzingly simple as it appeared. Sanctified men claiming to

1. Galatians,2.298. This included the three other senses.
2. Prophetica,2.664;cf.M.Luther,Galatians,(ed.P.S.Watson), 1961,414.
3. For examplesof typology,Creed,1.207,217; Hebrews,3.89.
4. Prophetica,2.647; Moldaenke,Schriftverständnis,213,Illyricus showed greater literary sensitivity by including 'poetical' and 'proverbial' in his classification of biblical books.
5. Pelikan, Luther the expositor, 126

have followed scripture's own principles could reach opposite conclusions about the meaning of "this is my body." By the time of Perkins, it had become apparent that human learning could distort exegesis,(1) though controversialists were more adept at detecting philosophical motes in their opponents' exegesis, than in discerning similar faults in their own position. Perkins suggested that the principles of divinity should be mastered before students ventured to expound the scriptures.(2) Without a modicum of saving knowledge, it was useless even to read the Bible. "The thing to be believed must first be known: for faith without knowledge is fancy."(3) This was an important principle which Perkins was right to emphasise. It presupposed that the compendium of divinity was true to the Bible, but he showed no concern about answering this fundamental question. He was confident that, whatever errors others might countenance, his position was unquestionably true to scripture.

Perkins occasionally used scripture as a source of proof texts,(4) but despite these aberrations, he saw the importance of deciding what the sum of the Bible was,(5) and the literary classification into which individual books fell,(6)

1. L.Ridley,An exposicion..upon..Colossians,1548,sig.Hiib-Hiva,saw the danger of reading philosophy before the Bible.
2. Prophetica,2.650.cf.Calvin,Institutes,Epistle to the reader; H.Sick,Melanchthon als Ausleger des Alten Testaments, Tübingen,1959,51-60.
3. Jude,3.498; Revelation,3.214.
4. Armilla aurea,1.64, where Proverbs 5.15 is twisted.
5. Prophetica,2.647. Perkins put this in the form of a syllogism, the major of which was provided by the Old Testament prophets who described the various attributes of the Messiah. The minor was provided by the New Testament, which showed that Jesus of Nazareth was such a one.
6. Prophetica,2.647-9. The New Testament books fell into two classes, histories and epistles.

in addition to discovering their scope. Acts, for instance, had been written so that there would be an example of the manner in which the church was governed, while Galatians treated justification by faith without the works of the Law.(1) Awareness of these broad patterns did not mean that passages were forced to fit the scope of the book in which they occurred. It was also essential "to ponder and weigh every sentence, and every part of every sentence, and every circumstance of time, place, and person."(2) Nonetheless, Perkins' emphasis on the place of 'scope' in exegesis was of great importance and was by no means the commonplace of interpretation which it has now become.(3)

Nor was it enough to know the general scope of holy writ. Perkins counselled his hearers to begin their study of scripture with certain books---Romans and John, Psalms and Isaiah.(4) These made the study of the other books easier. Careful attention must also be paid to the writings of the orthodox fathers so that their refutations of resurrected heresies could be used against anabaptists and schismatics.(5)

There was no place for exegesis which repudiated human arts. The Bible contained the best examples of these,(6) and no exegete could hope to understand the drift of such

1. Prophetica,2.648.
2. Galatians,2.244.
3. Illyricus had been the first to see this clearly. I owe this point to an unpublished outline on hermeneutics, written by Professor Rex of Dunedin.
4. Prophetica,2.650-1;cf.Moldaenke,Schriftverständnis,278-81.
5. Ibid,2.651.
6. Hebrews,3.94.

references without some learning. Logic, for example, was an essential part of interpretation, since without it men could not distinguish between true and false collections.(1) He did not make explicit reference to the need to relate passages to their historical environment, but having established the importance of human knowledge as an aid to interpretation, he left the way open for others to do this, once fresh knowledge about the biblical world was extensive enough to be of value in clarifying meaning.

"The supreme and absolute mean of interpretation, is the scripture itself."(2) Grammatical, rhetorical and logical analysis were to be used in the light of this principle. There were also three subordinate means of interpretation--the analogy of faith,(3) determining the circumstances of the place by a series of questions (4) and finally, comparison of places.(5)

How was the expositor to decide whether a passage was to be taken literally or figuratively? When the natural sense

1. Sermon on mount,3.95.cf. Galatians,2.298, on rhetoric's value.
2. Prophetica,2.651.
3. Prophetica,2.652. Perkins defined this as the Creed and the Decalogue. Illyricus added confessions of faith to this.cf. Olevian,Exposition of symbole,58. The concept had also been used by medieval exegetes. H.De Lubac, Exégèse médiévale, 3 vols., Aubier,1959-61,2.231.
4. Prophetica,2.652--who, to whom, upon what occasion, at what time, in what place, for what end, what preceded and what followed;cf.L.Ridley,An exposition in the epistell of Jude, 1538,sig.Aiiia-b, for a briefer list--whom, to whom, for what, plus discovering the sense and meaning.
5. Prophetica,2.652. This procedure was necessitated by writers supplementing each other and using passages in different ways. Perkins discussed the various ways in which this was done, illustrating each point with appropriate passages, taken from the Commonplaces of Marloratus.

of the words agreed with the circumstances of the place, this was to be taken as the proper sense, provided that it did not disagree with other parts of scripture or with the analogy of faith. If, on the other hand, the natural meaning of the words disagreed with the context, with the analogy of faith (which had equal authority to scripture), or with the places that were abundantly clear, its sense should be fitted to the latter "if it agree with contrary and like places, with the circumstances and words of the place, and with the nature of that thing which is treated of."(1) Perkins was not unaware of the danger of arbitrary selection in this procedure, and he warned against choosing only convenient parts of scripture. The sense of the whole had to be taken into account.

His attention to the detailed problems of understanding the Bible was shown by the care with which he outlined still further aids for the illumination of dark places (2) - the addition of clarifying words,(3) the various kinds of figures of speech contained in the Bible,(4) the way to reconcile contrary places,(5) the determination of vague meanings (6). All his principles were discussed with reference to actual examples

1. Prophetica,2.654.
2. Ibid,2.655ff.
3. Ibid,2.655.
4. Ibid,2.656-9. L.Daneau, A fruitfull commentarie on the twelve small prophets,Cambridge,1594, listed some twenty-five tropes or figures, many of them with technical Greek titles. He called an answer to an objection, for instance, an hypophora, 270.
5. Prophetica,2.660.
6. Ibid,2.662.

and occasional hints 'for further reading.'(1)

When these principles were applied consistently and all the aids used conscientiously, there was no need to worry whether one had merely achieved a private interpretation. It would be "sure, certain, and public."(2) No distinction was drawn between the text and this interpretation. The latter also had divine authority.(3) No contemporary of Perkins would have disagreed with the general validity of this principle, however much they might attack particular instances of 'gathering.'(4) Great care was needed in this procedure, "otherwise, we shall draw any doctrine from any place,"(5) but in the last resort Perkins could give no reason why he accepted collections on predestination and rejected those which Roman Catholics used to justify transubstantiation. At that point, hermeneutics becomes an art, rather than a science. Perkins did not see this any more clearly than other scholars of his day, but we must not, on this account, underestimate the very real value of what he said so clearly and concisely. Prophetica did not set the English theological scene on fire, but it deserves recognition as the first attempt in England to put the art of interpretation on a systematic basis, in which, as far as possible, individualism was overcome.

1. Prophetica, 2.654 refers to Marloratus' Commonplaces.
2. Galatians, 2.301.
3. Galatians, 2.159 quotes I.Cor.7.12 as a biblical example.
4. Whitaker, Disputation, 514-5.
5. Prophetica, 2.663.

(iii)

Perkins did not pay close attention to the precise nature of the relation between the two testaments. His treatment of Old Testament texts did not differ from that which he gave to those from the New.(1) He saw the Bible as a unity, for Christ had been the revealer from the beginning,(2) though there were clear indications of differences of clarity. Various motifs were used to describe this relationship. Types and signs,(3) promise and fulfilment,(4) growth in knowledge,(5) explained the changes which had taken place since the coming of Christ. There was no longer any need for the blessings given in Christ to be figured under temporal blessings. Many obscure rites had been replaced by two clear sacraments which were sealed not by the blood of animals, but by that of Christ. Whereas knowledge of the gospel had been somewhat darkened by law, it now stood forth clearly. Even the law stood forth in greater simplicity and promises which had once only applied to one people were now universal. Christ was not a distant and dimly seen hope. He had come in the flesh and would return in glory.(6)

Perkins was far more interested in the implications of two themes which ran through the whole Bible--law and gospel, old covenant and new covenant. Though law was dominant in

1. Exhortation to repentance,3.411 ff., is based on a passage from Zephaniah,but shows no signs of different treatment. Unfortunately,his editors did not print his expositions of Ps.39 and 110.Vol.3,Advertisement to the Christian reader.
2. Galatians, 2.172.
3. Hebrews,3.66,154-5.
4. Armilla aurea,1.70.
5. Galatians,2.270.
6. Hebrews,3.198.

the Old Testament, gospel was not absent. There were some similarities between the two ideas. Both had the same author, required justice and righteousness for salvation, and had the glory of God for their end. Yet the difference was more important. It was no less than a distinction of substance.(1) The law had conferred life on the obedient, the gospel gave it to the believing and was above nature, whereas the law had been written on the hearts of all men at creation. While the law brought home to men the hopelessness of their slavery to sin, revealing the awful justice of God, the gospel mingled justice and mercy, not simply telling men what they must do, but also enabling them to do it. 'Law' had a preparatory task--that of bringing sinners to such a point of self-despair, that they would be prepared to commit themselves to God.(2)

Preaching the law was therefore essential. Men's knowledge of the natural law had been obscured by the fall. Placing the standards of God before them, whether these were taken from the Old Testament or the New, aroused their slumbering consciences and brought them to realise the impossibility of living up to the demands of God. 'Law' had no more relevance as a way of salvation, though Satan did his best to persuade men that good works and religious ceremonies were enough to satisfy God, using, for this purpose, the church of Rome to rivet his fetters on mankind.(3) Roman Catholics confused

1. Galatians,2.212. This was parallel to the distinction between the covenants. Galatians,2.299.
2. Jude,3.495-6.
3. Ibid,3.545-6.

the law and gospel, turning Christ into a mere helper who enabled men to fulfil the law, whereas scripture portrayed him as a redeemer who had ended the rule of the law. In this context, Perkins was speaking of the negative side of the law, which was related to sin and death, making no more attempt to resolve the tensions produced by this double function than the New Testament did. Like all reformed theologians, he stressed that, insofar as the law represented eternally valid moral principles, it remained binding on the Christian, though its terror and curse had been removed by the work of Christ.(1)

All this was typical reformed theology. Perkins was anxious to safeguard the uniqueness of Christ's work and to demonstrate that his coming had made a decisive difference to the way in which salvation was conferred. Yet there was also a fundamental unity in the Bible to be taken into account, as well as the capacity of natural men for virtue and religion which no theologian could honestly shut his eyes to. The similarity and difference between law and gospel helped bring these diversefactors into some sort of unity, a unity which would only fully be revealed in the light of glory. It is interesting to notice that Perkins did not emphasise, as Calvin had,(2) the gracious side of the law, and its relationship to the covenant of grace.

He attempted to deepen men's understanding of the uniqueness of Christ's work by introducing into reformed theology

1. Prophetica,2.667.
2. W.Niesel,The theology of Calvin,1956,93-4.

the distinction between the covenant of works and the covenant of grace, the former being chiefly delivered in the Old Testament, the latter chiefly in the New.(1) 'Law' belonged to the covenant of works, the function of which was preparatory to the appropriation of the benefits of the covenant of grace conferred on men by Christ's death. The covenant was part of the execution of the decree of election and was defined as God's contract with man, "concerning the obtaining of life eternal, upon a certain condition,"(2) namely that God will be our God, if we observe the conditions that he has laid down.

The covenant of works had as its condition perfect obedience to the moral law, which was conveniently summed up in the decalogue,(3) though he was careful to point out that even in the decalogue there was a hint of grace--in the promise 'I will be thy God.'(4) Perkins said nothing about the concluding of this covenant before the fall in any of his discussions of Adam's uncorrupted state.(5) Nor did he mention it in his Foundation of Christian religion. Not only did he expect his readers to understand the implications of the concept without detailed explanation,(6) he used it in a negative way. It was related to his concept of 'law' and used to illustrate the way in which men were without excuse

1. Prophetica,2.647-8.
2. Armilla aurea,1.32.
3. Armilla aurea,1.32.
4. Ibid, 1.33.
5. Creed,1.151.ff.
6. This suggests that he had used an already existing idea.

for their sins, because they had been given the capacity to obey God, but, in Adam, had thrown away their heritage.

Much more attention was paid to the implications of the covenant of grace. Its substance was Christ,(1) whom God had promised freely to men, exacting again from man "that he would by faith receive Christ, and repent of his sins."(2) First concluded with Adam immediately after the fall,(3) it had been renewed with Abraham, Noah, David, the returned exiles and fulfilled completely by Christ's coming, so that there was no need for renewal.(4) Both covenants ran side by side in history, expressions of the conflict between the seed of the woman and the seed of the devil,(5) both of whom had sprung from Adam. Whereas the covenant of works applied to all men, the covenant of grace was for the elect. Belonging to the people of God was insufficient for salvation. This was not given automatically as by a testament, but by a covenant which implied a personal response (6) to the means offered in the covenant of grace. To confuse the covenants imperilled the whole economy of salvation,(7) by undermining the significance of Christ's work.

This Christological and soteriological interest lay at

1. Revelation,3.220.
2. Armilla aurea,1.70.
3. Revelation,3.242; Creed,1.164-5.
4. Jude,3.570.cf.Exhortation to repentance,3.419, which speaks of the Jews sharing in the covenant of grace.
5. Creed,1.164-5.
6. Armilla aurea,1.70.
7. Galatians,2.299, where he called it a papist error to confuse justice and mercy, works and faith, tables of stone and tables of flesh, categories which showed the substantial difference between the two covenants.

the heart of Perkins' doctrine of the covenant. There were other implications, but they were essentially derivative. Membership of the covenant gave an additional basis for assurance, because, in the covenant, God had promised Christ and all his benefits, "by virtue of which donation a man may say Christ is mine, his benefits are mine also, as truly and as surely as my land is mine."(1) Though he did not go so far as to call man a 'confederate' (2) he did use the covenant as an additional reason for pressing home to his hearers their responsibility to perform good works. God had offered men, in the covenant of grace, a means by which they were to labour to exceed the virtues of the Old Testament saints.(3) He attempted to guard against the doctrine being interpreted individualistically, by insisting that the covenant was not only with individuals, but with 'public men' like Adam and was therefore a covenant with the church.(4)

Perkins made more use of the covenant idea than any previous or contemporary English theologian,(5) though it was not central to his theology. Unfortunately the development of the concept in reformed theology has never been

1. Jude,3.594. This donation was effected by mystical union.
2. Musculus, Commonplaces,122a; Olevian, Exposition of symbole, 93.
3. Jude,3.520.
4. Creed,1.314.
5. Trinterud,CH,1951,39, is wrong to say that the idea of covenant was the organising principle of Tyndale's theology, and even more inaccurate to claim that by the time of Edward VI the idea "became virtually standard for English theology."

satisfactorily explained.(1) No progress will be made until much more is known about the theology of the period from 1560 -1600. Nor does there appear to have been any clearly discernible theological pedigree for the idea.

Possibly Trinterud is correct to suggest that the origins of the idea are in the Rhineland, notably in the works of Oecolampadius, but he exaggerates the importance of the idea. Perhaps "a new basis had to be found for personal and public religious life and morals, educations, (sic) civil government, family life,"(2) but to argue that the idea of covenant became the organising influence of the whole Rhineland reformation(3) is quite incorrect. Other theological ideas were far more important until covenant theology, as distinct from a theology of the covenants, emerged in the writings of Olevianus.

Zwingli and Bullinger had both used the idea to refute anabaptist theories, though the latter also related it to the sacraments, the duties of men to God, as well as utilising it to explain the relationship between the two Testaments. Calvin referred to the idea in connection with election,(4) and though his prime reference was to God's offer rather than man's

1. G.Schrenk,Gottesreich und Bund in älteren Protestantismus, Gütersloh,1928,gives the best survey,though he ignores English theologians. Heppe,Geschichte des Pietismus, has a brief section,as has the article by Trinterud,already mentioned. Miller,"Marrow of puritan divinity,"and New England Mind,365-97 gives the best background account. W.W.McKee, The idea of covenant in early English puritanism,Ph.D.thesis Yale,1948; the introduction of D.J.Bruggink, The theology of Thomas Boston,Ph.D.thesis,Edinburgh,1956, and G.D.Henderson, "The idea of covenant in Scotland",EQ, 1955 are also useful.
2. Trinterud, op.cit.,38.
3. Ibid, 41.
4. Calvin, Institutes,3.21.5.

response, he taught that man's obedience to the law was a consequence of God's gift of himself in covenant.(1) There was, however, only one covenant, though its administration was different in the two testaments.(2) His exegesis of passages which later federal theologians used contains no reference to a covenant of works.(3)

Signs of systematisation and expansion of the idea can be discerned in Musculus' distinction between a general covenant with all men in creation, and a special covenant which was concluded with Abraham.(4) He also discussed the relation of God's gracious gift of himself and men's response, marvelling that God had so limited himself as to promise to be the God of those who walked before him in obedience.(5) Ursinus distinguished between a covenant of nature and a covenant of grace, emphasising the obedient response implied by the idea of covenant.(6) His Heidelberg colleague, Olevianus,(7) interpreted all the doctrines of the Creed as promises of the covenant,(8) and stressed both the practical implications of the covenant and its relation to personal experience of salvation.(9) He appears to have been the

1. Niesel, Theology of Calvin,93. W.Tyndale,Works,3 Vols., (ed.H.Walter),1848,50, Doctrinal treatises,403,(which possibly influenced Perkins) made God's offer more conditional on man's response.
2. Calvin, Institutes,2.10.2; Martyr, Commonplaces,2.16.5; Musculus, Commonplaces, 123b-4a.
3. Genesis,3.6; Romans,3.5-6.
4. Musculus,op.cit.,120b.
5. Ibid,122a-b.
6. Ursinus, Summe of religion,253 ff.
7. Creed,1.234, quotes his De substantia foederis gratuiti inter Deum et electos, 1585.
8. Olevian, Exposition of symbole,52.
9. Schrenk, Gottesreich und Bund, 57-62.

first to use the term 'covenant of works', but linked it with Moses, not Adam.(1) None of these writers give the doctrine of covenant the precise formulation given it by Perkins, but his account of the doctrine almost certainly owes a good deal to these predecessors, most of whom he had read. It is over-simple to think in terms of a doctrinal development which resembles an exchange and borrowing of a clearly defined intellectual currency, clearly recognisable in whatever context it appears. The covenant idea was in the air and parallels do not necessarily mean direct borrowing.

It is interesting to note that the distinction between a covenant of works and a covenant of grace appeared in a work of Gomarus' in 1594,(2) in Rollock's Questiones et responsiones, 1595,(3) and in Polanus in 1598,(4) all of whom knew Perkin's works. We cannot be certain why the idea of covenant began to be used more by the end of the century. The growing tendency to schematise protestant theology was partly responsible, as was the desire to present a plan of salvation which offered no chinks for Roman Catholic controversialist lances. Miller suggests changing political and social ideas helped,(5) but sees the doctrine as an answer to the tensions and contradictions which had developed within calvinism. But ably argued though this view is, it suffers from the defect of misunderstanding Calvin's theology, and thus poses problems

1. Heppe, Geschichte des Pietismus,211.
2. Ibid,213-4. Gomarus had been a student at Cambridge in Perkins' time and probably knew him personally.
3. Henderson, EQ,1955,9.
4. Schrenk,op.cit.,64-5. Armilla aurea was published in Basle in 1594.
5. Miller,New England Mind,399.

which did not, in fact, exist. Miller claims that Calvin demanded that his followers "contemplate with steady, unblinking,resolution, the absolute, incomprehensible, and transcendent sovereignty of God."(1) In this system "no grounds for moral obligation or individual assurance could be devised so long as God was held to act in ways that utterly disregarded human necessities or human logic."(2) The only basis for morality was that of arbitrary fiat, which "represented no inducement to men other than the whip and lash of an angry God."(3) Miller then proceeds to introduce the covenant into this gap, ignoring completely any reference to the place that Christ played in Calvin's theology.(4)

Naturally such a distorted theology would need restatement, if it had existed. Miller gives Perkins a vital role in an extension of the role of covenant theology, which removed the arbitrariness of grace and established a basis for moral action. He was the first in England to give the idea "the stress which became overwhelming in the sermons of Preston," (5) using the covenant "to reinforce his doctrine of the duty that man owes to God of cultivating the slightest seed of grace that he may receive."(6) This account both misunderstands reformed theology and underestimates the influence of

1. Miller, Marrow,248.
2. Ibid,253.
3. Ibid,290.
4. Niesel,Theology of Calvin,159ff.gives a more accurate account of the decree and its relation to Christ. For Calvin's ethics, R.S.Wallace, Calvin's doctrine of the Christian life,1959.
5. Miller,New England Mind,374.
6. Miller, Marrow,256.

continental covenant theology on English puritanism.(1) Perkins played an important part in the re-definition of reformed theology, but he did not need to save it from itself. His covenant theology was primarily another way of illuminating the work of Christ, and his constant emphasis on the priority of grace would have to be ignored before puritan theology arrived at the point at which it could be said that salvation could virtually be willed.(2)

One other important distinction within scripture which had some effect on Perkins' use of the Bible was that which he drew between the words and the sense. This was introduced to solve two problems--scribal errors and the changes of wording which occurred in New Testament use of Old Testament quotations. When scribes committed errors, this did not diminish the authority of the text, for this had been safe-guarded by the Holy Spirit. The virtue of scripture was not tied magically to the words. "The sense of scripture is rather to be judged the Word of God, than the words and letters thereof."(3) This principle was supported by dominical and apostolic example. Their freedom of quotation from the Old Testament occurred because "the apostles, and Christ in citing places of the Old Testament, apply them,

1. Miller, Marrow, 258, where speaking of continental covenant theologians, he says, "there is no evidence that they had any influence in England."
2. Ibid, 288-9. One wonders if Miller has perhaps mis-interpreted the later writers in the same way as he ignored vital qualifications in Calvin and Perkins.
3. Sermon on mount, 3.103-4. Examples of scribal errors are found in Cases of conscience, 2.60; Prophetica, 2.662.

and expound them, and hereupon sometime add words without adding to the sense."(1) Fortified by this example, Perkins' own quotations were also free.(2)

His more carefully defined theory of inspiration(3) could lead to a legalistic attitude to scripture as a law-book of doctrine and behaviour which stifled real hearing and response,(4) though reformed orthodoxy was not the perversion which its modern attackers frequently represent it as.(5) Perkins was saved from an arid literalism by the reverent freedom with which he used scripture, by his depth of religious experience and by his insistence that Christ was the substance of scripture. Later writers, with a less powerful religious experience, and less appreciation of the part played in interpretation by prayer and a pure heart, may well have over-intellectualised the doctrine of faith and defined it as assent to biblically based propositions, rather than as trust in Christ based on mystical union with him. Perkins did not fall into this error when he equated scripture and the living voice of God.(6) His doctrine of scripture

1. Galatians, 2.210-11.
2. Armilla aurea, 1.49, contains two examples in two paragraphs. His quote from 1.Cor. 11.7 reads 'image of the glory of God' whereas Geneva and Tremellius read 'image and glory of God.' Quoting I Cor. 4.15. 'for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel', he omitted the last three words.
3. Musculus, for instance, did not discuss the mode of inspiration.
4. J.K.S.Reid, The authority of scripture, 1957, 94.
5. Few modern interpreters rise above the invective of F.W. Farrar, History of interpretation, 1886, 371, despite the work of Moldaenke; R.Preus, The inspiration of scripture, 1957, and B.Hägglund, Die heilige Schrift und ihre Deutung in der Theologie Johann Gerhards, Lund, 1951.
6. Hebrews, 3.202.

did not mean, as Farrar claims, that "true exegesis became impossible" during this period.(1)

(iv)

This is borne out by an examination of Perkins' commentaries, which contain much useful material and show an appreciation of the unity of passages which is all too rarely found in the minute textual analyses of modern commentaries. It would be foolish to suggest that Perkins was a great commentator whose interpretations of particular books left an indelible mark on all later thinking.(2) His commentaries were basically compilations and expansions of sermons which contain a good deal of repetition (3) and many digressions that bear more relation to Perkins' audience than to his text. Rarely did a commentary of this kind stand out as a work of genius. Luther's Galatians is perhaps a shining example. Few sixteenth century commentators managed to strike the balance between brevity and thoroughness so satisfactorily as Calvin. Commentaries tended to be little more than paraphrases,(4) or else voluminous theological works.(5)

Perkins did have a contemporary exegetical reputation. According to Cudworth. the ideal commentary should not just paraphrase, but collect doctrines, apply uses, doing this by

1. Farrar, History of interpretation, 376.
2. R.Simon, Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament,Rotterdam,1693,does not mention him.
3. Galatians,2.226,justified this as biblical.
4. D.Erasmus, Paraphrases upon the New Testament,2 vols.,1551, is one of the best examples of this type.
5. P.Martyr, Most fruitfull and learned commentaries,1564.

briefly pointing out the chief heads. Giving the literal sense sufficed only for experts. Most needed the text cut and minced small for them. He praised Perkins for matching brevity and perspicuity, so that "the like (I take it) hath not been performed heretofore by any expositorupon this epistle: which we may call the key of the New Testament."(1) Nor was this just a friend's opinion. A bibliography for ministers produced forty-odd years later listed Perkins as one of the leading English commentators, classing him with men like Baynes and Willet.(2)

That none of the names in this list left exegetical reputations behind them is a melancholy testimony to the poverty of English biblical scholarship in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. A study of the Short Title Catalogue and the work of Wilkins previously mentioned,(3) reveals enormous tracts of the Bible which remained untouched by scholarly English hands. The resulting vacuum was filled by the commentaries of Calvin, Martyr, Marloratus, Piscator, Junius and Gualter. Even the Bibles that most Englishmen read originated in Geneva, and Tremellius provided the leading scholarly Bible, for few English scholars were at home in the original biblical languages.(4) This was partly because there was no one able to teach them, and partly because English

1. Galatians, Epistle dedicatory.
2. J.Wilkins, Ecclesiastes, 1646, 43.
3. Ibid, 28-42.
4. The legacy of Israel, (ed. E.Bevan and C.Singer), Oxford, 1927, contains an article illustrating this. "Hebrew studies in the reformation," by G.H.Box; cf.J.G.Parkes, "Early Christian Hebraists," in Studies in Bibliography and Booklore, 1962.

scholars seem to have been uninterested, by and large, in biblical studies. That there were commentaries already in existence on the continent did not prevent men like Tossanus, Marloratus, Daneau from reworking the mines of scripture, confident that their efforts would not be in vain. Indeed, the spate of commentaries in the sixteenth century, outside England, is almost overwhelming and represents an unworked source of information about the thought of the age.(1)

This situation had changed very little from that which Lancelot Ridley had deplored in the 1530's.

> "I perceive few or none to go about to open by commentaries or expositions in English, to the unlearned to declare the holy scriptures now suffered to all people of this realm to read and to study at their pleasure to their edifying and comfort in God."(2)

The main difference was that there were more translations of foreign commentaries available. Even if Perkins' efforts to fill the gap were of no permanent importance, his expositions do help to fill out our understanding of his theology, correcting the tendency to underestimate the extent to which he sought to draw his thought from the Bible, a fault all too easy in a day when theology and exegesis are not so intimately related as they were in the sixteenth century.

Comparison of his treatments with those of his contemporaries gives a clearer notion of what his distinctive emphases were and where changes were creeping into his theology.

1. R.M.Bainton and P.Lockwood, "Classical and biblical scholarship in the age of the renaissance and reformation," CH, 1941,138-9, deplore this, but there is no work on the reformation comparable to De Lubac's Exégèse médiévale.
2. L.Ridley, A commentary upon Ephesyans, /1540/, Preface to the reader.

A GENERALL ANALYSIS OF the Vision shewed to *John*.

- Title of the Booke, *viz.* *Apocalyps*, or *Revelation*, described by seven Arguments, *vers.* 1,2,3.
- The three first Chapters consist of a
  - Preface containing the
    - Inscription of the Vision, wherein is *Iohns*
      - Dedication, *To seven Churches.*
      - Salutation including the
        - Blessings wished for: Grace. Peace. *vers.* 4.
        - Authors of them, *viz.*
          1. *The Father.*
          2. *The holy Ghost.*
          3. *The Sonne*, who is described by
             - His Offices: Propheticall. Priestly. Kingly.
             - The execution of his office in foure workes:
               1. Loving us. *vers.* 5.
               2. Washing away our sinnes. *vers.* 5.
               3. Making us Kings and Priests. *vers.* 6.
               4. Comming to judgement. *vers.* 7.

             doth confirme the same description, *vers.* 8.
  - A vision containing
    - Circumstances foure:
      - Person to whom, *Iohn.* *vers.* 9.
      - Place where, *Isle Pathmos.* *vers.* 9.
      - Manner how, *In a traunce.* *vers.* 10.
      - Time when, *On the Lords day.* *vers.* 10.
    - Parts,
      - The entrance into it: containing
        - The meanes of *Iohns* preparation, *viz.* a voice, set out by: The place whence it came. The greatnesse of it. The matter of it, *vers.* 11. *vers.* 10.
        - Parts of his preparation: Hearing, noted in the meanes, *vers.* 10. Turning himselfe, *vers.* 12.
      - Matter, *viz.* a representation of Christ in majestie, set out by
        - The place where *Iohn* saw him, *vers.* 13.
        - His forme or figure in
          - His attire, *vers.* 13.
          - The parts of his body, *vers.* 14,15.
          - The properties thereof, *vers.* 16.
        - His actions,
          1. A confirmation of *Iohn* being sore afraid, *vers.* 17, 18.
          2. A commandement to write, *vers.* 19.
          3. The interpretation of the Vision, *vers.* 20.
          4. Seven severall commandements, to write seven Epistles to the seven Churches. *Chap.* 2. 3.

VET A 2. c 30

The most striking difference between Perkins' commentaries and those of earlier protestant scholars is their 'scholastic' structure. Earlier commentators had confined themselves to a straightforward exposition, taken verse by verse,(1) with occasional doctrinal digressions.(2) Signs of change appeared in the commentaries of Junius, Daneau and Piscator, all of whom employed what can best be called a logical exegesis, which laid great emphasis on explaining the logical coherence and structure of the passage under consideration.(3) In addition they examined the various figures of speech, often classifying these in very complicated ways,(4) a process which was termed rhetorical exegesis. This was complemented by an examination of words and their meaning which was frequently referred to as grammatical exegesis. This change of exegetical method reflected sixteenth century convictions about the importance of logic, as well as a desire to present material in such a way that its meaning appeared as clearly as possible to the readers. Perkins was not being original in using this method of exegesis, though it would appear that he had been an innovator if he was studied apart from his continental contemporaries.(5)

1. This is so with Ridley, Luther and Calvin.
2. Martyr, Commentaries,41a-44b,for a discussion of the Mass. This was the protestant counterpart of the medieval scholion, and occurs frequently in Luther's commentaries.
3. Daneau, Twelve small prophets,228-41; F.Du Jon,(Junius) The apocalyps,Cambridge,1596,26,has a similar logical approach.
4. Daneau,op.cit.,270;cf.Prophetica,2.657-9.
5. None of his English predecessors have this logical structure to the same extent, though occasionally their exegesis reflects sermon structure.E.Dering,XXVII lectures, or readings, upon parte of the epistle written to the Hebrews,1583,46-7, refers to sense and application.

The use of a summary analysis of a book in the form of a ramist chart began in the 1590's. Piscator appears to have been the first to make use of these visual aids, prefixing them to his commentaries, presumably so that the reader could see the argument and arrangement at a glance and keep it in his mind as he read the book.(1) Earlier commentators had prefixed to their commentaries a verbal summary of the argument of the book. Piscator, however, did not use such a detailed treatment as Perkins, confining himself to brief verse by verse comments, with scholia where these were warranted.

Perkins had two English predecessors. Fenner had produced a brief logical commentary on Philemon,(2) while Richard Turnbull had also turned logic to exegetical use in his commentary on James. He claimed to be the first scholar to have made use of this method.(3) This was not strictly correct, but no other English scholar had used logical method so thoroughly. Though he made use of visual tables at the beginning of the book and prefixed logical analyses to sections and chapters, his structure was less scholastic than that of Perkins.(4) Possibly Perkins made more detailed use of logical exegesis because he was speaking to a student audience, to whom this method would have been thoroughly familiar,(5)but the method could lead to scripture being fitted into a rigid logical mould.

1. J.Piscator, Analysis logica epistolarum Pauli,1591,1.
2. D.Fenner, The artes of logike and rethorike, 1584.
3. An exposition of the epistle of St.James,1594, To the reader, sig.Bia.
4. Ibid,29a.
5. The sermons in Appendix three suggest that he did not so much use logic in his sermons, as in the re-writing. He had used ramist charts as early as 1585,cf.Resolution.

Its chief value lay in its clarification of exegesis, which made understanding easier.(1)

Another reason for Perkins' application of this method had respectable protestant parentage. This was the use of 'places' of scripture.(2) These could be used for the construction of theological systems, together with doctrines, 'gathered' and 'collected' from scripture when they were not always explicit. The results of this activity were compiled in the huge tomes of Commonplaces which were such a widely used method of presenting the fruits of theological and exegetical labours. Perkins did not produce such a volume, but his commentaries, which must be seen in the light of this method, formed a halfway house between the more paraphrastic type of commentary and the more exclusively theological Commonplaces.

Comparison of Perkins' treatment of Galatians with that given by Luther(3) and Calvin(4) brings out clearly how extensively he used logical categories.(5) He frequently used syllogisms to clarify statements,(6) distinguished in the manner common in disputation, restated arguments until he

1. Turnbull, Exposition of James, To the reader, gave the following reasons for his method. "Having drawn first the general analysis, or resolution of the whole epistle: then the particular of every chapter, with the like prefixed before every lecture or sermon," he hoped that "who so is but of simple capacity, by the very tables, may see and search out, the very meaning of the holy apostles."
2. Q.Breen, "The terms 'loci communes' and 'loci' in Melanchthon",CH,1947.
3. Luther, Galatians, 1961.
4. J.Calvin,Commentary on Galatians,Edinburgh,1854.
5. In this connection, his stress on the importance of logic for distinguishing true and false 'collections' must be remembered. Sermon on mount,3.95.
6. Galatians,2.195; Armilla aurea,1.72.

was convinced that the meaning was clear,(1) referred to imaginary objectors,(2) and found his logical terms in Paul.(3)

Calvin was content with a bare minimum of word definition. Perkins lingered somewhat over the meaning of words, examining them from all possible angles with the aid of logical questions such as he had referred to in Prophetica,(4) doing it more systematically than Luther.

For instance, on Galatians 1.4.(5), Calvin contented himself with a brief discussion of the proposition that atonement for sin and perfect righteousness were found in Christ alone. Redemption purchased us for Christ.(6) Luther attacked the Roman Catholic doctrine of righteousness, mentioning that the greatness of the price paid for sin showed how great its power was. He emphasised that Christ's death was for us, and that we must labour to apply it and make it our own in times of temptation. The way Satan's temptations should be dealt with was discussed, as was the unity of wills between the Father and the Son.(7)

Perkins began by relating the verse to Paul's previous arguments, described the giving of Christ in relation to its two causes and clarified this by comparing the text with other

1. Galatians,2.174.
2. Ibid,2.178.
3. Ibid,2.170,225,235,268.
4. Prophetica,2.652.
5. This reads 'who gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us out of this present evil world, according to the will of God our Father.'
6. Calvin,Galatians, 27.
7. Luther,Galatians, 268-82.

places. He then proceeded to interrogate his text, discussing the giver, the end of the giving, and the cause why Christ gave himself for the sins of the world. His analysis was then brought home by application.(1)

On Galatians 3.13 (2), Calvin only briefly alluded to the meaning of 'curse' and then passed on.(3) Luther seized the opportunity to attack the Roman Catholic devaluation of the death of Christ, whereby he was turned into an angry judge and not seen as a gracious saviour. The 'for us' aspect of Christ's work was strongly emphasised, as was the danger of trusting in the righteousness of the law and the efficacy of good works.(4)

Perkins mentioned the great themes of justification, law and gospel, faith and works, but they were not at the heart of his treatment. That ground had been won by Luther. Perkins emphasised the building up of the hearers, particularly directing his remarks to students for the ministry. Indeed his emphasis on the ministry recurred in this commentary, usually in contexts where neither Luther nor Calvin mentioned it.(5) The meaning of 'curse' was examined in detail - how Christ was cursed, in which nature and how far.(6) Clarifying distinctions were made and objections answered.(7) Paul used,

1. Galatians,2.163 ff.
2. This reads 'Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, when he was made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is everyone that hangeth on the tree.'
3. Calvin,Galatians,91-2.
4. Luther,Galatians,273-80.
5. Galatians,2.295.(on 4.19-20.),2.318,(on 5.12).
6. Ibid,2.237-8
7. Ibid,2.238.

according to Perkins, the same manner of discussion, describing our redemption by four arguments.(1) Again doctrine was intensively applied in a moralising way. No opportunity was lost to drive men's duty home to them for, unlike his predecessors who seem to have believed that the word itself made its own impact, Perkins saw the effectiveness of preaching in terms of application.(2)

When his commentaries are compared with those of his English predecessors, the distance which the English reformation had travelled stands out. Despite the frequent complaints that "we preachers may cry till our lungs fly out, or be spent within us, and men are moved no more than stones,"(3) Perkins expected more from his hearers, or readers, than Tyndale and Ridley, judging by the solidity of the fare which he regularly set before his flock. There was a consistently greater degree of theological digression. On Matthew 7.12, Perkins indulged in a long discussion of the canon, whereas Tyndale kept strictly to the text.(4) Tyndale used words like 'apply' and 'feel' which were so important in Perkins' vocabulary, but was much more restrained. He did not give to hungering and thirsting after righteousness the same importance in conversion as Perkins. In fact, he explicitly

1. Galatians,2.237.
2. Hebrews,3.200, the Word not applied is like physic not taken.
3. Exhortation to repentance,3.424.
4. W.Tyndale, Expositions and notes on sundry portions of the holy scripture,118-9.cf. Sermon on mount,3.220-2.

denied that the verse had any reference to the principal righteousness of the Christian man.(1) Perkins made the latter point the main part of his exegesis of the verse, giving details about the temptations which could hinder men from applying this verse to their spiritual comfort.(2)

In addition to the increased formalisation of his commentaries and the strenuousness of his applications to his audience, Perkins' exegesis has one aspect in which he had more in common with Calvin than with later commentators. He was quite uninterested in the prophetic details of Revelation.(3) His commentary on the first three chapters concentrated on practical issues and ignored the meaning of prophecies,(4) except insofar as they were a reminder of the need for constant readiness for the End.(5) All his writings emphasise this and reflect the popular ideas about the end of the world which were a heritage from the middle ages. Famines, plague, war, individual and national wickedness all seemed to point unerringly to a speedy end. The most one could do was to save individuals from the impending holocaust which would bring to an end the age-old struggle between God and Satan.(6)

The fate of individual sinners kept alive the sense of imminent doom and Perkins did not hesitate to use such judge-

1. Tyndale, Expositions, 22.
2. Sermon on mount, 3.10.
3. For contrast, see Du Jon, Apocalyps,and W.Fulke, Praelections upon the sacred and holy Revelation of S.John, 1573.
4. Revelation,3.289,referred to the 'ten days' as a short time.
5. Fruitfull dialogue, Exhortation to repentance, are notable; cf.L.Chaderton, A godly sermon preached at Pauls Crosse, 1580,sig.Fiia.
6. P.Fraenkel, Testimonia patrum,Geneva,1961,110-8, expounds this.

ments as levers to open impenitent hearts to the grace of God. In Cambridgeshire as recently as 1592 the following fearful warning had been given.

> "One being with his companion in a house drinking on the Lords day, when he was ready to depart thence, there was great lightning and thunder: whereupon his fellow requested him to stay, but the man mocking and jesting at the thunder and lightning, said (as report was) it was nothing but a knave cooper knocking on his tubs, come what would, he would go; and so went on his journey: but before he came half a mile from the house, the same hand of the Lord, which before he had mocked, in a crack of thunder struck him about the girdlestead, that he fell down stark dead." (1)

Perkins' commentaries are of more value as a mirror of his thought, than as a light permanently to illuminate the meaning of scripture. They help the student to see how closely exegesis and theology were related in his thinking. He may have read his own brand of doctrine too easily into the Bible, but he did not sin any more than most of his contemporaries in this respect. The conscious roots of his theology were found in the Bible, which was the square by which all human writings, thoughts and actions were to be judged.

1. Creed,1.137.

CHAPTER THREE 'NOT LATELY HATCHED AT HOME'

(i)

> "The writings of men be full of darkness, of error and deceit: but the Word of God is most holy and pure, and every way perfect, proceeding wholly from the Father of lights, unto his beloved Son, who hath faithfully dispensed the same for the good of his church." (1)

Perkins was anxious to make it clear that there was an absolute difference between men's inspired and ordinary writing, so far as salvation was concerned. This did not mean, however, that the writings of the fathers and schoolmen could be ignored, while theologians concentrated on studying the scriptures. Though one sentence from the latter was of more force than all their writings on matters of doctrine and faith, he believed that citations from their works were of great value for demonstrating the antiquity of protestant ideas.(2)

> "I hold it necessary, that there should be had an example of consent and concord in that doctrine, which is expounded in holy books, and is propagated to all posterity. And I hope, I shall sufficiently persuade an indifferent judge, that these things have not been lately hatched at home, which we deliver in our congregations and schools, but that we have also derived and fetched them from the fathers themselves."(3)

As a reformed theologian, Perkins had good precedent for his position. Calvin, Martyr, Cranmer and Jewel had all been formidable patristic scholars, whose knowledge went far deeper than the repetition of quotations which could be found in

1. Revelation, 3.209.
2. P.Polman, L'élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVIe siècle, Gembloux, 1932, 310, points out that this evidential use of the father differed fundamentally from the dogmatic use of Roman Catholics.
3. Predestination, To the reader.

Lombard's Sentences, or in such compilations as Unio dissidentium, first published in 1527 and reprinted many times during the century.(1) They insisted that reason and tradition were to be judged by the canon of scripture, (2) but, this said, they made extensive use of the fathers, both to demolish Roman Catholic claims about the antiquity of their doctrines and practices and to support their own exegesis and doctrine.

The relationship between reason and revelation was delicately balanced, but when reason was kept in its rightful place, faith and reason combined for the glory of God. Perkins insisted that

> "religion hinders not human learning, as some fondly think; but it is a furtherance and help, or rather the perfection of human learning, persuading, and proving, and convincing that, which human learning cannot."(3)

He believed that a scholar, in whom knowledge of philosophy, human learning and true religion combined, was "a man of a most rectified judgement, and of a deep reach in the greatest matters."(4) Once reason and faith were separated, "he will stumble at many truths, though he had the wit of all the philosophers in his own head."(5) This was no problem, so long as men exercised their reason within the framework provided in scripture. When this was so, study of the fathers

1. This work is discussed in an M.A. thesis, Manchester, 1963, by a fellow student, Mr.R.Peters.
2. Martyr, Commonplaces, 3.4.36; Calvin, Institutes, 4.8.9.
3. Hebrews, 3.9.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

was not only permissible, but desirable, providing students of scripture with refutations of revivals of ancient heresies (1) and materials for the construction of doctrines. Perkins was not so positive about the value of patristics as his Heidelberg contemporary, Tossanus, who taught that antiquity must be studied because Christianity went back to the beginning of the world.(2) Nor did he make such extensive use of the fathers to confirm exegesis of biblical passages as had earlier reformers, like Martyr.(3) He gave greater weight to interpreting scripture by scripture. Despite the limited role which Perkins and other reformed theologians gave to the fathers, its importance must not be underestimated. Perkins, for instance, thought study of their writings was so vital that he produced the first patrology in English--Probleme of the forged catholicisme, published posthumously in 1604.

This part of protestant theology has not received the study which it deserves, for few scholars can move with such confidence in reformation, patristic and scholastic literature that they can fruitfully study how the former has been influenced by the latter two.(4) There are further compli-

1. Prophetica,2.651.
2. D.Tossanus, Synopsis de patribus,1603, which was translated as A synopsis, or compendium of the fathers,1635,2.
3. Martyr, Commonplaces,1.4.12; cf.Problem s,2.533,where Perkins used this method in expounding 2 Cor.5.21.
4. Besides the works of Polman and Fraenkel already mentioned, S.L.Greenslade, The English reformers and the fathers of the church,Oxford,1961; L.Smits, Saint Augustin dans l'oeuvre de Jean Calvin, 2 vols.,Assen,1956, contain valuable material, though much remains to be done.

cating factors, such as wholesale borrowing of quotations,(1) which sometimes make it very difficult to decide what is genuine relationship to a father and what is borrowing at second-hand. Nonetheless we can, broadly speaking, refer to a revolution in patristic studies which began in the late fifteenth century and grew formidably in the following 150 years, even though many of the details are not fully known.

Revival of interest in the fathers began with the humanist desire to return to the sources and to escape from the barbarisms of the schoolmen. Gratian and Lombard contained much material extracted from the fathers, but there were serious gaps and errors in available patristic editions.(2) Greek was little studied at the beginning of the sixteenth century and many of the Eastern fathers were virtually unknown in the Western church, even in Latin translations. The ante-Nicene fathers were little used, texts had often been 'improved' by medieval scribes and where partial collections of individual authors had been made, they were often so cluttered with spuria as to be of little scholarly value.(3)

The re-discovery of ancient texts, the invention of printing and the industry of many scholars, of whom Erasmus was the foremost, changed the situation completely. Complete

1. Problem,2.560-1, uses a catena from Bede; R.Bolton, An instruction for the right comforting of afflicted consciences,1635,390-1, lifts a catena from Grain of mustard seed,1.640.
2. J.Ghellinck, Patristique et moyen âge,3 vols., Paris,1946-8, gives a useful survey.
3. Greenslade, English reformers,10, mentions a 1495 edition of Augustine's sermons, of which only 2 out of 75 were genuine. The rest were 14th century.

texts of particular works and of individual authors did not immediately end the proof-text method of using the fathers, but at least gave it its death blow. Systematic and comparative study of the fathers was made possible, as it had not been for centuries. Initially, much of this editing was by scholars influenced by humanism,(1) but, as the reformation gathered momentum, editing and study of the fathers received a further fillip when their apologetic and controversial value was realised. Much of this scholarship was partisan and attempted to correct the errors of adversaries. Some, however, was of more value, including the Louvain edition of Augustine, and the work of scholars like Musculus, Junius, Daneau, Pamelius and De la Bigne.(2)

Roman Catholics were more hampered by dogmatic prejudices and at first there was considerable suspicion about some of the lesser known fathers.(3) The campaign for the study of the Bible and the fathers, and the replacement of Lombard by Aquinas within Roman Catholic universities, was not readily accepted by more conservative Roman Catholics.(4) As a result, protestant scholars gained a start in patristic studies which was not overtaken by Roman Catholics for some time.

There was ample scope for textual disagreements, varying estimates of individual fathers and particular works. Little

1. Oecolampadius produced selections from Chrysostom, Cyril and the Gregories, while B.Rhenanus' edition of Tertullian was 'a standard work'. Problem,2.571, refers to it.
2. Polman, L'élément historique,97,249-56,392-401, discusses protestant and Roman Catholic editions of the fathers.
3. D.P.Walker,discusses reaction to Origen in Courants religieux et humanismé à la fin du XVe siècle et au début du XVIe siècle,Paris,1959,101-19.
4. Polman, op.cit., 324ff.

progress could be made until there was some agreement about the appropriate critical methods for the study of the fathers. Instead, dogmatic convictions often distorted the principles of historical investigation, literary and textual criticism. In addition, some important early works like the Didache and Barnabas remained unknown, and proof-text methods of study inherited from the middle ages militated against the study of special doctrines or the development of particular authors.

Medieval scholars had been more interested in the contents of books than in their authors and historical context, but by the time Perkins' handbook appeared, the attitude of scholars had changed, because it was realised that authorship and date were intimately related to the authority of books and quotations. The shift in emphasis owed something to religious controversy which made more exact use of sources necessary. There was also an interest in history,(1) and the beginnings of a revolution in study of the past (2) which owed more to the renaissance than to the reformation. This emphasised the value of studying original sources, though it was some time before the new methods made a noticeable impact on the study of church history.

Still, a beginning was made in Erasmus' introductions to his patristic editions, in which he attempted to sift medieval chaff from patristic wheat. Some medieval hand-

1. Wright, Middle class culture, 297-338.
2. F.S.Fussner, The historical revolution,1962.

books existed, but they were of little critical value and drew heavily on De viris illustribus, by Jerome.(1) By the end of the century there were several works which dealt more or less critically with spuria and methods of interpretation. Melanchthon had produced a small handbook,(2) while the Magdeburg Centuries dealt incidentally with the fathers. Simler, the Zurich scholar, produced a Bibliotheca and Index, while the Roman Catholic scholar Sixtus Senensis' Bibliotheca Sancta contained some useful material. Perkins inherited this effort and referred to these works in his discussion, illustrating again how extensively he relied on the works of others for much of his material.(3)

He wrote the Problem for two reasons--to guide students in their reading of the fathers and also as a 'counter-poison' to the Thesaurus catholicus of J. Coccius, a Belgian scholar.(4) The work fell into three sections: a discussion of the way in which the fathers should be interpreted, a critical examination (in chronological order) of patristic and scholastic literature, which attempted to establish authentic works and lastly a long section on the history of important doctrines. The work revolved round the thesis that

1. Fraenkel, Testimonia patrum,255-7, discusses these.
2. Ibid,266-72, for Melanchthon and Lutheran patristics.
3. The breadth of his reading was surprising. Problem,2.489, mentions Jerome,Valla,Illyricus,Gennadius; 2.490-1,for Senensis,Eusebius,Erasmus,Jewel; 2.492, for Pamelius, Trithemius,Simler,James,Fulke; 2.494,Bellarmine; 2.495, Durandus; 2.496,Cano;2.503,Chemnitius; 2.504,Baronius.
4. Reformed catholike,1.619-20, has a brief list of disputed works. J.Coccius,Thesaurus catholicus, 2 vols.,Cologne, 1601-2,evidently stimulated Perkins to produce something far more solid. Coccius discussed doctrines misused by heretics and then gave 'catholic' testimonies to the truth. He used many authors and works rejected by Perkins on convincing historical grounds.

> "it is unpossible for any popish divine in the world to show out of the true monuments of the councils and fathers, and out of their natural sense and meaning, that the faith of the present church of Rome, is truly catholic in those points, wherein it dissenteth from the reformed churches of the gospel." (1)

The growth in protestant historical knowledge through the Magdeburg centuries, and his own knowledge of the schoolmen was reflected in Perkins' willingness to argue the case for corruption not only within the first four or five centuries, but within the period 1000-1500, a shift of emphasis which made the charge of novelty much more powerful.

(ii)

Perkins' discussions of authenticity show signs of dogmatic pre-conceptions, but the burden of his case was argued on critical grounds which were drawn from both protestants and Roman Catholics, illustrating that there were signs of agreement on the authorship of some disputed works.

One of the earliest patristic writings was the Epistle of Clement, to which had been added several false epistles. Perkins rightly rejected all but the epistle to Corinth. The epistles to Jesus' brother James were spurious because he had pre-deceased Peter, and Clement had not been bishop of Rome before Peter, "as it is evident almost out of all histories."(2) Nor could the teaching of these epistles

1. Problem,2.486; cf.Galatians,2.301.
2. Problem,2.489. Polman, L'élément historique,242, says that Chemnitz was the first protestant scholar to reject these epistles on internal grounds.

be called apostolic. One

> "doth most foolishly advise James to take heed that there be found no mice dung among the pieves of the Lords body, and that they be not putrified by the negligence of the priests."(1)

The use of internal and external evidence to decide authenticity came out even more clearly in the discussion of the works traditionally ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, (2) which were supposed to date from about 69 A.D. Valla, Erasmus and Cajetan denied that they were genuine and Perkins followed them, asking if they were in fact by the Dionysius of Acts 17, why he never named Paul, but called his master Hierotheus.

In addition to this ommission, there were some strange additions, such as a hierarchy of priestly orders which were unknown in apostolic times, and silence about the work in Eusebius and Jerome. Perkins added further reasons for rejecting this early dating, drawn from Illyricus. The style is late, there is a reference to the much more notable Timothy as 'son', Paul remained near Athens for another two years, so Dionysius could have had instruction from him, instead of that Hierotheus whom he calls his master. Also, he speaks of his master's receiving doctrine from the apostles, besides failing to consult his alleged friend Timothy, whether his doctrine agreed with that taught by Paul. He refers to choirs and other parts of the church buildings, whereas it

1. Problem,2.489.
2. Ibid,2.489-90.

was then the custom for Christians to meet in houses. Further chronological inconsistencies were revealed in his reference to a passage from the Stromata of Clement of Alexandria, his quotation from Ignatius who had died after him, as had John whose Gospel he cites as if it had long been written. Finally, there was a reference to Polycarp who died in 166, whereas Dionysius had died in 96. Perkins did not base his critique only on protestant scholarship. He concluded his discussion by citing the opinion of Sixtus Senensis that the Mystica Theologia was unknown before the time of Athanasius.

These historical and critical arguments, which vary little from those used by modern scholars, were generally rejected by Roman Catholics. The Roman Catechism quoted the work without any suggestion that its authenticity had been seriously questioned.(1) Bellarmine accepted it as genuine, as did Baronius, another leading scholar.(2) This was a critical blind-spot where dogmatic reasons supported thin historical evidence. Protestants showed the same prejudice about the legend of Pope Joan, which had been demolished by the Roman Catholic scholar Panvini on grounds which are now recognised to be completely valid.

Another source of evidence used by Roman Catholic apologists was ancient liturgies, many of which were published in the sixteenth century.(3) Perkins cast a

1. The catechism of the holy council of Trent, Rome, 1839, 223. Hereafter referred to as Roman Catechism.
2. Polman, L'élément historique, 517, 535.
3. Ibid, 428-35.

critical eye over some of the more famous, from which evidence was drawn to support Roman Catholic views about the nature of the mass and the invocation of the saints. He examined the liturgy of St.James from a linguistic and doctrinal viewpoint.(1) According to Perkins' reading of church history, monks were unknown in the early church.(2) The prayers for monks that were found in this liturgy proved it could not be apostolic. The occurrence of words like homoousios and theotokos which never appeared in the New Testament, and which Perkins concluded were not heard of in the apostles' time, were further arguments against its early origin. Its lateness received confirmation from three other factors. The form of communion bore no resemblance to that recorded in Acts, or Justin, while there was no historical reference to the liturgy for 600 years after Christ. If it had been genuinely apostolic, Perkins felt that "it should be a portion of holy scripture."(3)

A common protestant theory which accounted for divergent texts was that corruptions had been written in by the servants of the papacy. Nor was it an entirely fanciful explanation. The forged decretals of Constantine seemed to offer convincing proof that this practice could well have been used frequently to support papal claims.(4) The result was that any text bearing signs of being too favourable to the Pope was likely

1. Problem,2.489.
2. Ibid,2.594-6.
3. Ibid,2.489.
4. Ibid,2.492-3, discusses this.

to be scrutinised with an extra degree of critical acumen by protestant scholars.

One of these disputed texts was the De ecclesia of Cyprian where, according to Perkins, the book had been "corrupted by the Papacy to prop up Peters primacy."(1) The problems raised by the differing texts have not yet been satisfactorily resolved,(2) so that Perkins was not simply ruled by anti-papal prejudice, when he claimed that the following phrases were not in the oldest manuscript--

> "and gave his sheep to him to be fed,"
> "he ordained one chair,"
> "Peters primacy was given to show one church and one chair,"
> "who so forsaketh Peters chair on which the church is founded." (3)

The protestant apologist not only needed to be familiar with patristic writings and liturgies, but also required a thorough knowledge of canons and decretals in order to expose Roman Catholic misquotation and use of spurious decrees to buttress their position. Several editions of conciliar decrees were published during the century (4) and Perkins gave a long list of the decretals which he believed were spurious. He used the same methods as before--consideration of internal evidence and the testimony of early witnesses.(5) Where decrees and canons were indisputably genuine, he did not agree that they were necessarily binding on the church. The

1. Problem,2.492.
2. J.Quasten,Patrology,3 vols.,Utrecht,1950-60,2.352.
3. Problem,2.492. He quoted from the Catalogue of T.James.
4. P.Crabbe,(ed.),Concilia omnia,Cologne,1538. Problem,2.497, referred to a Venetian edition of the Councils. This was published in 1585. Andrewes' copy is in Pembroke College Library,Cambridge.
5. Problem,2.499-501.Councils were discussed chronologically.

church did not have law-making powers, but simply witnessed to the law set down in the Bible.(1) The decrees of general councils were authoritative only insofar as they agreed with scripture. Otherwise they only concerned questions of order and comeliness and were not binding on conscience.

The problems of spuria occurred frequently. The immense clearance of medieval rubbish which took place in the sixteenth century is often not appreciated. Many of the works which Perkins found it necessary to dismiss, no longer find mention in patrologies.(2) Sometimes he rejected works which were genuine, such as De poenitentia, by Tertullian.(3) He followed Erasmus' judgement on this, though it is also likely that he believed such a doctrine of penance could not be so early, even in a writer as unreliable as Tertullian.

The magnitude of the task of distinguishing genuine from spurious works appears in the cases of Augustine and Chrysostom. The former had more spuria assigned to him than genuine works, while the latter had over 900 spuria ascribed to him.(4) It is not surprising that Perkins did not give critical reasons for his rejection of many works of Chrysostom. The task would have been too great. He confined himself to quoting extensively from Sixtus Senensis, an interesting example of the way

1. Galatians,2.168.
2. He mentioned Of the finding of John Baptists head,ascribed to Cyprian, Problem,2.492.
3. Problem,2.491;cf.Quasten,Patrology,2.299-301 for its genuineness.
4. Ibid,3.470.

scholars could agree without being embarrassed by party lines.(1) He also contented himself with a list of Augustine's spurious works,(2) attacking Parisian and Louvain scholars for adding spurious sermons and epistles,and only occasionally giving brief reasons for his decisions.(3) The letters he suspected were, in fact, genuine. He appears to have rejected them because they showed off the 'catholic' Augustine to better advantage than Augustine's undisputed works justified.

His treatment of authenticity was occasionally limited by such dogmatic pre-conceptions, but generally his lists of spuria compare well with those in modern patrologies. While his methods were not notably in advance of his time, they provide a valuable insight into the sixteenth century use of the historico-critical method and its striking achievements with limited critical tools. More important still, his wide-ranging use of sources suggests that the gap between protestant and Roman Catholic positions was becoming slightly amenable to rational examination. Even the most conservative Roman Catholic sacrificed some spuria without feeling that they had undermined the foundations of faith. Given time to sharpen their critical methods still further, later generations of scholars could extend this limited area of agreement and study the fathers more objectively and scientifically.

1. Problem,2.497-8.
2. Ibid,2.498-9.
3. Ibid,2.499.

(iii)

Once authentic texts had been established, how were their contents to be interpreted? Perkins did not emphasise the need to distinguish stages within the thought of the same father,(1) or attempt an assessment of his strengths and weaknesses.(2) He usually contented himself with an examination of particular doctrines, without any consideration of their total patristic context, a habit derived from the current method of seeing theology as 'places' rather than as a whole. He did, however, set out some important principles of interpretation.

The key to interpretation of the fathers was given by the scriptures.(3) This, he believed, was the fathers' own position. They had intended their method to be followed, not their results, for "the ancient writers do teach and defend, that the canonical scripture is of itself the perfect rule and square in all controversies of faith," a contention he supported by a string of quotations from Tertullian to Biel.(4) None of the fathers had ever claimed inspired freedom from error,(5) so that a sharp distinction had to be drawn between the authority of the Bible and the writings of men when the latter contradicted it. God could not contradict himself and any

1. Problem,2.491, where he noted that De corona militis was written while Tertullian was a montanist.
2. Ibid, dismissed Irenaeus and Justin as chiliasts; cf. Tossanus, Synopsis,34,59-60, who was less superficial.
3. cf.Tossanus,Synopis,Preface.
4. Problem,2.486-7; cf.Martyr,Commonplaces,4.4.14.
5. Polman, L'élément historique,297, says few Roman Catholics followed John Fisher in this contention. They distinguished between the authority of individuals and that of their collective voice.

'progress' in revelation ended with Christ's coming and the closing of the Canon. The fathers will have

> "their sayings and testimonies well examined, and so far forth only to be received as they do agree with the rule of our faith, and the writings of the prophets and apostles." (1)

It was futile to appeal to the 'consent of the fathers' without some selective criterion. Irenaeus, Justin and Clement had taught that the law of nature could save the heathen without Christ. Augustine had contradicted them.(2) How was the truth to be arrived at without reliance on scripture? To refer to 'antiquity' was ambiguous. Perkins defined it as that which the fathers themselves had accepted as ancient, namely the age of the apostles and the one next succeeding. The Roman Catholic practice of applying the term to anything historical which appealed to current prejudice, could only lead to declension from the faith. Tradition was not a reliable means for handing down ancient practices which went back to the apostles, but were not in the scriptures. Many traditions which the ancient fathers had accepted as apostolic were no longer practised(3) and many to which they had made no reference were exalted as necessary for salvation.

Perkins, therefore, took strong exception to the Roman Catholic doctrine of tradition. Though Trent had said that there were apostolic traditions,(4) it had not defined them.

1. Problem,2.487.
2. Ibid,2.488; cf.Musculus,Commonplaces,152a.
3. Ibid,2.513.
4. J.Waterworth,(ed.),The canons and decrees of the sacred and ecumenical council of Trent,1848,18.

Roman apologists often went much further and derived the primacy of the pope, the seven sacraments, and so on, largely from unwritten apostolic tradition, defining this with far more detail than the historical evidence justified.(1) Nor did Perkins accept that the purity of tradition was guaranteed by its divinely appointed custodians, the Popes, whose historical succession preserved apostolic tradition, without which the Bible could have neither clarity, nor authority.(2)

He admitted that some of the fathers had used 'tradition' as an apologetic weapon, but was reserved in his attitude to this because of the opportunities offered for the entrance of error.(3) It was all too easy to introduce men-pleasing customs under this guise, customs which would undermine men's loyalty to the Word.(4) Tradition only played a subordinate role in the fathers, and statements which appeared to give it a more important part were to be related to what they said about the authority of the Word.(5)

Only scripture could reliably inform later ages about apostolic teaching and practice. Tradition had no place in matters of salvation, unless it was recorded in scripture.(6) Christ had taught only what he had received from his Father's mouth. Christians could do no less, if they were loyal to

1. Polman, L'élément historique, 307; Tavard, Holy writ, 137.
2. Ibid, 117-ff., for contemporary Roman Catholic statements; cf.-Polman, L'élément historique, 289-92.
3. Problem, 2.512.
4. Combat of Christ and devil, 3.393.
5. Problem, 2.512.
6. Jude, 3.514; cf. Martyr, Commonplaces, 4.4.8, who quoted Cyprian to the effect that the only traditions were New Testament ones.

Christ's example. They were to teach only the very Word of God--the Bible.(1) "This is the right tradition: and if it be observed without addition or detraction, the gospel shall remain in his integrity."(2) Perkins drove home his point about Christ's example by demonstrating that tradition in scripture had only been given a subordinate place, except in the special circumstances before Moses' time.(3) Jude 9, for instance, threw light on the central message of the Bible, but did not alter, or supplement it.(4) Tradition, then, meant three things--the written doctrine of the apostles, the sense of scripture, and customs in government and ceremonies which did not affect the substance of faith. (5) To give it any higher function made men wiser than God, implied that scripture was not the axiom of Christian truth, and that the Church was superior to Christ, whereas its function was to be keeper, or register, of divine truth, not its interpreter.(6) This authority, as we have seen, belonged to the Trinity alone.

If the testimony of the fathers to antiquity, apostolic teaching and tradition needed to be judged by scripture, so did their witness to 'catholicity'. It was wrong to limit this to the practice of the Western church, or to rely on the testimony of texts which had possibly been corrupted by papists.

1. Galatians, 2.171.
2. Ibid, 2.173.
3. Sermon on mount, 3.222; cf. Whitaker, Disputation, 652.
4. Jude, 3.540, 562; cf. Whitaker, Disputation, 560.
5. Problem, 2.511-2; Reformed catholike, 1.580-3.
6. Jude, 3.514, "Our church is known to be Gods register."

Again, Perkins defined his terms from the fathers themselves. 'Universal' applied only to that which "took place in all churches in the apostles times, and in the ages going next before Vincentius and Augustine."(1) He quoted Vincent of Lerins and Augustine on the meaning of 'catholic'. It was that

> "which hath been held in all places, at all times, and of all professors;...and what novelty or unknown doctrine he shall perceive anyone afterward to bring in, either varying from, or contrary to all the saints and fathers, let him know that that doctrine hath no reference to religion any way, but rather doth wholly belong to temptation." (2)

Matters which the church had universally and continually professed "we must assuredly believe to have had his original from another means but the ordination of the apostles."(3) Perkins' whole position rested on the assumption that divine truth was one throughout the ages. In another context, he taught that true 'antiquity' was found in the covenant of grace concluded with Adam and in the faith of Abraham. When protestants had the same faith as the latter, Roman Catholic claims to antiquity were irrelevant.(4) Like the Pharisees they had forsaken scripture and followed human traditions(5) with equally disastrous spiritual results.

1. Problem,2.486; cf.Tossanus,Synopsis,64 ff. for the corruptions which followed the age of Augustine. Perkins seems to be assuming the theory of purity lasting for the first five centuries.
2. Ibid,2.486.
3. Ibid.
4. Galatians,2.231;cf.Musculus,Commonplaces,153b-4a, for a similar emphasis on the priority of truth over 'antiquity.'
5. Sermon on mount,3.43.

> "The fathers must be reverenced, as lights of the church in their time, and their testimonies duly regarded, wherein they agree with the written Word: but for the confirmation of the truth in mans conscience, and for the edifying of the soul in the graces of the Spirit, the Word of God hath the only stroke." (1)

With the fathers put in their correct place and the criterion of judgement for their teaching established, Perkins discussed various problems of interpretation and dangers to be guarded against in reading their works. (2)

Context had to be taken into account. Sometimes the fathers had spoken in the heat of controversy, in which case their statements were not to be accepted with the same seriousness as those they made when fully aware of the need for careful definition.(3) Sometimes they used rhetorical exaggeration "either in the favour of others, or to affect their auditory the more."(4) Perkins quoted Jerome and Theodoret in his support, the latter of whom had said, "I do not account those things a rule of doctrine and decrees, which are flauntingly and rhetorically spoken to the church." (5)

Words were frequently used imprecisely before their meaning was settled by controversy. This was so in statements about free will before the Pelagian controversy. Meaning was to be decided by reference to the original usage, not

1. Sermon on mount, 3.43.
2. Problem, 2.487, "the fathers in many points of divinity have spoken very unfitly." Roman Catholics also realised the need to read the fathers with discrimination. Polman, L'élément historique, 296; cf. Problem, 2.488.
3. Problem, 2.487.
4. Ibid; cf. 2.535, where Perkins mentioned that the fathers had praised 'works' to correct the vulgar.
5. Ibid, 2.487.

by that which had been acquired over the centuries. In the last part of his Problem, Perkins used this principle frequently.(1)

Not only did the fathers' language need careful study, but something needed to be known about the background of the age in which they lived. They had not been immune from the errors of their day. These had often found entrance, because teachers had conformed too readily to the spirit of the age, "carried into superstitions, as the force of the tide violently carrieth away the boats: and hereupon it ensued, that they concealed some things for fear."(2) He did not deny that conformity to the spirit of the age was altogether invalid,(3) but he had a deep distrust of the religious opinions of the common people, which he virtually identified with those of the natural man.(4) All too often the fathers had fallen into the same error as Jewish teachers and framed

> "their doctrine to the common disposition and behaviour of their people, and so falsified the truth of God, as many times it falls out, that the common practice of men makes sin to seem no sin." (5)

This declension had taken three main forms. Pagan customs had been introduced, such as incense burning and image worship,

1. Problem,2.535; 2.566-7,are typical examples.
2. Ibid,2.488.
3. Cases of conscience,2.116.
4. Foundation,I.sig.Aiia,gives a list of 32 popular errors, such as:that faith is a mans good meaning, and his good serving of God, that it is safest to do in religion as most do, that every man must be for himself and God for us all, that God is served by the rehearsing of the ten commandments,Lords Prayer and Creed, that ye know all the preacher can tell you; Exhortation to repentance, 3.412.
5. Sermon on mount,3.83.

and heathen doctrines had been decked out in godly robes. Athanasius and Clement had taught "more like philosophers than divines" on sin, free will and faith.(1) Lastly, Jewish customs, like the wearing of vestments, had been re-introduced, when these no longer had any relevance for salvation, belonging to the outdated law, not to the gospel. "The licence and too free liberty which the church used in these three things, hath been the cause of all these corrupted festers now predominant therein."(2) At every point in his suggestions for reading the fathers, Perkins came back to the authority of scripture. To forsake this led inevitably to superstition and error.(3) Perkins believed that this position was truly patristic and catholic, and that it was the only explanation of the evidence which did justice to Christ's rule of his church by Word and Spirit, neither of which needed human addition.(4)

The Roman Catholic doctrine of the church had to be radically re-stated to harmonise with this doctrine of the relationship between scripture and the risen Christ. Perkins' teaching on the church was sketchy, and relied mainly on the outlines drawn by Calvin and Martyr, but it linked up closely with his teaching on the sovereignty of God and on ethics.(5)

1. Problem,2.506; Jude,3.557, criticised philosophy for giving too much to nature and too little to God.
2. Problem,2.506.
3. Galatians,2.173.
4. Tavard,Holy writ,157, for an opposite Roman Catholic view.
5. See,Creed,1.311-2, on the communion of saints.

He defined the church as "a peculiar company of men predestinated to life everlasting, and made one in Christ."(1) Predestination was important for his doctrine of the church, because it permitted him to break with the Roman Catholic view that salvation was tied to the visible church. It depended wholly on God, leaving no basis for human security but giving a certain foundation for assurance. Since the true church was invisible, like wheat among chaff, he was able to do justice to the history of error, without sacrificing historical continuity. It was, therefore, important to distinguish between the church triumphant and the church militant.(2) The former was grounded on God's predestination, composed of the elect, perfectly subject to the rule of Christ, in which subjection its true dignity stood.(3) None of its members could be cut off, and it could be called the ground and pillar of truth.(4) On earth it corresponded to the spiritual, as distinct from the temporal kingdom,(5) though it was found in the latter, for this included the militant church which was the temporal expression of the church triumphant. This difference could also be expressed in the contrast between visible and invisible church.

The militant, or visible church, included all men and was ordered by the magistrate. Normally it had the marks of

1. Creed,1.277; cf.Jude,3.504.
2. Creed,1.301-2.
3. Creed,1.303.
4. Jude,3.504.
5. Treatise tending,1.394-5.

the Word, sacraments and discipline, through which Christ called the elect and governed them through conscience and the Holy Spirit. He needed no spiritual deputy, for he was always present. One could not belong to the invisible church without belonging to the visible church where Christ had placed the means of grace. "Out of the militant church there is no Christ, nor faith in Christ: and therefore no salvation."(1) Yet because the visible church included both the saved and the reprobate, it could err in doctrine and manners, and Satan found ample opportunities for infiltration through corrupt human nature. Thereby he waged war against the elect, whose membership of the church was inseparable from the cross of affliction, until they were released by death or judgement.(2)

Perkins rejected the Roman Catholic list of marks of the church--unity, multitude, succession, antiquity,(3) for none of these was distinctively Christian. Unity and multitude could equally be found amongst the heathen, succession of pure doctrine through bishops or popes would not survive the test of historical examination, while 'antiquity' was ambiguous. The essence of the church was not in human continuity, but in God and the gifts of Word and Spirit without which it could not exist. That the church was dependent completely on God was shown by the way in which he could preserve his

1. Creed,1.301; This church is divided into parts, based on regions, but remains one . Ibid,1.303.
2. Ibid,1.302.
3. Problem,2.598-9; Jude,3.482.

people, even without the sacraments and discipline. It was the preaching of the Word which was the infallible mark of the church and this was entirely the gift of God.(1) This emphasis on the Word was more radical than that of reformed theology in general.(2) It was related not only to a desire to establish continuity of the true church in the middle ages, but also reflected the situation of the puritans within the Elizabethan church. Even if discipline and the sacraments were corrupted, the essential preaching of the Word remained.

Without a living relation to Christ, the means of grace were valueless. Having discussed the ground of the church, Perkins turned to discuss the form, which he defined as mystical union with Christ.(3) This was union of the whole man with the whole Christ, through which men received the benefits of Jesus' Godhead. It was not just a mental union, but so real that men became bone of his bone.(4) Nor was it individualistic. It meant obedience to the Word, "proceeding forward in sanctification, even until death,"(5) a sanctification which was inseparable from love of one's neighbour. The holiness of the church which resulted was one of the chief properties of the obedient visible church, though it was never perfect in this world.(6) The other property of the true

1. Creed,1.304.
2. Institutes,4.1.9.
3. Creed,1.277-8.
4. Ibid,1.299-300; True gain,1.657-8. For Martyr's similar usage,J.McLelland, The visible words of God,1957,88.
5. Jude,3.482.
6. Sermon on mount,3.211. He therefore rejected Brownism.

church was catholicity of time, place and persons.(1) Where these two qualities were entirely lacking, even the possession of the Word and sacraments made it unlikely that a church was a true member of the visible church.

When both marks and essence of the church were so related to Christ, charges that protestants had forsaken the foundations of Christian faith were not justified. They were rather concerned to ensure that the visible church did not usurp the place of Christ. Trusting in outward forms was another manifestation of natural religion, of living by works, not by faith.(2) To be true to her heavenly calling, the visible church needed continually to be subject to the Word. Otherwise Satan would gain entry. He knew only too well that scripture, truly understood and well applied, was the battery for the destruction of his kingdom. Consequently, "he hath laboured by all means to keep men from the knowledge and true understanding of them."(3) Perkins did not interpret the history of the church as a steady growth in knowledge, which was analogous to the development of a man. He saw history as a perpetual conflict between God and Satan. The outcome was certain, but vigilance must be eternal, lest Satan gained advantage, as he appeared to have in England, where the signs of declension abounded on every side.(4)

1. Creed, 1.307-8.
2. Sermon on mount, 3.159.
3. Jude, 3.393.
4. Exhortation to repentance, 3.424, complained "when popery was newly banished, there was more knowledge in many, than is now in the body of our nation."

(iv)

One of the ways Satan insinuated himself into the church was preventing the study of the scriptures, substituting for this the reading of fathers and schoolmen. Those who fell for this manoeuvre were as good as delivered into his hands. Judging by the frequency with which Perkins exposed this stratagem, many Cambridge students must have been reading the schoolmen, which, he suggested, should be read only with prayer and as a supplement to the Bible. "They are greatly to be blamed, that prefer them almost above all writers: and show that they have little love of the gospel in their hearts."(1)

Study of the schoolmen may have been temporarily interrupted by the reformation, but by the end of the century reformed scholars appear to have been making extensive use of their works, not only for controversial purposes, but also for analyses of theological problems which the reformers had neglected. Abuse of their subtleties continued,(2) but references to them in margins multiplied. The influence of Aquinas on Hooker is a commonplace, but this was not unique, either in England or abroad.(3) Perkins, however, is the first theologian of puritan antecedents to make extensive use of the schoolmen. Not only did he use them in his controversial treatises to score points at his

1. Galatians,2.169; cf.Jude,3.552,for a complaint about Calvin. Beza,Bucer and Martyr being neglected for popish writers.
2. Musculus, Commonplaces,134a; Tossanus, Synopsis,78.
3. Zanchius was deeply influenced by Thomism.

opponents' expense, but they influenced his views to such an extent that Arminius charged him with following the schoolmen before scripture.(1)

Earlier generations of English divines had made use of schoolmen like Aquinas, Lombard, Bonaventura and Scotus, chiefly in connection with the church and sacraments, but not so much in questions about grace and predestination as Perkins did. His use of scholastics not only marks a shift of apologetic interest, but also an extension of the sources from which he drew his arguments. Gregory of Rimini, Pierre de D'Ailly,(2) Bradwardine and Capreolus (3) figure in his works. It would be claiming too much to say that his willingness to use schoolmen was unique, but his prestige probably helped remove anti-scholastic prejudice from later puritan thinkers. Men like Preston and Baxter read them widely. The structure of Perkins' works suggests that he had probably learnt from their presentation of theology in a clear and orderly manner. Also, some of the theological distinctions which he introduced show a 'scholastic' bent of mind which was absent from earlier reformed theology.(4)

Unfortunately, we shall probably never know the extent to which this study of schoolmen and fathers was abroad in Cambridge.(5) It was not part of the divinity curriculum,

1. J.Arminius, The writings,3 vols.,Grand Rapids,1956,3.383.
2. Predestination,2.612.
3. Problem,2.518. The margin refers to a MSS of De causa Dei, in Benet College, which suggests Perkins had been delving in libraries;cf.Problem,2.578, for a similar marginal reference.
4. Treatise tending,his earliest sizeable work, distinguishes between types of grace,1.378; cf.Gods free grace,1.737.
5. Whitaker, Disputation,565, stressed the importance of patristic learning.

but a hint of the interest shown in the fathers by the Cambridge puritans is shown in a popular treatise by Nashe.(1) He mentioned that a group of puritans met every Friday in Emmanuel, under Chaderton, collecting extracts from the fathers and councils which were sent to Cartwright to help him refute the Rheims New Testament. When it is remembered that Perkins was a fellow by this stage, was friendly with Chaderton and a moderately keen puritan, it is probable that some of the foundations of his patristic knowledge were laid in this group.

Scholars like Fulke, Whitaker and Chaderton appear to have had considerable knowledge of the fathers, but their energies were spent on polemic and edifying the church. No major piece of patristic editing appeared in England before 1610.(2) Previously there had only been a few translations of extracts, or small treatises from popular fathers like Augustine and Chrysostom.(3) It was not that there were no manuscripts available, or that scholars were deficient in all linguistic skills. This might have been the case with Hebrew, or even to some extent with Greek, but certainly not with Latin. Yet there were not even any editions of Latin fathers. The same disinterest which we have already remarked on in connection with biblical commentaries seems to have been at

1. T.Nashe,An almond for a parrot,(ed.J.Petheram),1846,43-4.
2. J.Norton's edition of Chrysostom in 8 vols.,1610-12.
3. J.Scory, translated some Cyprian in 1556 and 1566, J. Hooper translated some Tertullian in 1550, while T.Sampson translated a sermon of Chrysostom on patience in 1550. It is noteworthy that many of these translations were early and that the output was not maintained.

work.

Nor were there secondary works of scholarly value like Martyr's study of the history of the Eucharist,(1) the studies of J.Coornhert and J.Drusius on Augustine, M.Chemnitius' study of Trent (2) or, from the Roman Catholic side, the Annales of Baronius and the Controversies of Bellarmine.(3) The only equivalent attempt was Perkins' Demonstration of the problem, which was competent but not quite in the first rank of contemporary scholarship.

This work was an extension of A reformed catholike, and strengthened the patristic and scholastic foundations of Perkins' claim that reformed doctrine deserved the title 'catholic.' He attempted to expose the folly of the Roman Catholic claim to 'antiquity' in doctrines which were central to their theology. In the case of Mary's position, he pointed out its modernity.(4) No theologian had taught that she was conceived without original sin until Scotus tentatively suggested it, and many important successors had rejected his arguments.(5) Not until 1096 had Urban II decreed that her offices should be sung every Sabbath and her hours said every day. Perkins quoted Bonaventura with approval, to the effect that the honour of the Son must not be diminished by adding to

1. Polman, L'élément historique,119, calls it the most learned of the century.
2. Ibid,discusses protestant scholarship,265 ff.
3. Ibid,401,ff. discusses Roman Catholics'patristic studies.
4. Problem,2.596. Each side tried to avoid the charge of novelty and fasten it on the other; cf.Roman Catechism,104, for the claim that Roman Catholic doctrines were neither novel, nor of recent origin!
5. Problem,2.596, mentions Aquinas, Bonaventura and Cajetan.

that of the mother. This added up not to antiquity, but to continued innovation, for which there was no justification in either the early writings of the fathers, or the scriptures.

His treatment of the other 'places' of doctrine applied the principles which he had laid down in the first section of the work. Examination of the meaning of words,(1) criticism of sources,(2) a rudimentary sense of the importance of historical development,(3) (though he rarely quoted chronologically and traced relationships) together with an attempt to use early sources,(4) reinforced the impression, noted earlier in the chapter, that the winds of change had begun to blow through attitudes to the past. Granted that many of Perkins' explanations were over-simple, he succeeded in extracting a great deal of valuable material from indifferent sources with the aid of critical methods which have been refined, rather than changed, by later historians. He believed that his treatment had shown

> "no apostle, no holy father, no sound catholic, for 1200,years after Christ, did ever hold or profess that doctrine of all the principles and grounds of religion, that is now taught by the church of Rome, and authorised by the Council of Trent." (5)

(v)

If he was rightly critical of contemporary Roman Catholic scholarship, how did he use the fathers? There are almost

1. Problem,2.566, on satisfaction.
2. Ibid,2.594, which criticises Eusebius.
3. Ibid,2.558-64.
4. Ibid,2.576.
5. Ibid,2.602.

no references to them in his commentaries, few in his short practical works, and a great concentration of quotations in his works on predestination, polemic against Rome and exposition of doctrine in Armilla aurea and the Creed. There is no trace of greater use in either his earlier or later works, so we must conclude that his usage of the fathers was dictated by the aims of particular works, notably where he was anxious to show the continuity of his doctrine with that of the best divines of the past.

Almost all scholars studied texts of the fathers rather than the text of their works. Perkins sinned no more than his contemporaries in this respect.(1) His opponent, Bishop, occasionally caught Perkins out, though Perkins' defenders, Wotton and Abbot, almost invariably managed to save him from the attack, demonstrating that the charges of misinterpretation, adding to the sense, or quoting out of context were frequently quite unjustified and that Perkins was more sinned against than sinning.(2) The results scarcely justified Bishop's charge that "we find little fidelity in his allegations of the fathers, bad construction and foul oversight in the text, of Holy Scripture, briefly great malice, but slender force against the church of Rome."(3)

In the first edition of the Reformed Catholike, Perkins had quoted a passage from Hilary 'without any doubtfulness of

1. E.A.Ryan, The historical scholarship of St.Bellarmine, Louvain,1936,151-2 points out weaknesses in Bellarmine.
2. W.Bishop, A reformation of a catholike deformed by M.W. Perkins,Pt.1,n.p.,1604,16,misquotes Perkins and then accuses him of contradiction.
3. Ibid, 13.

uncertain will at all' in his discussion of certainty of salvation. Bishop accused him of adding 'at all'(1) and interestingly these words did not appear in the Workes.(2) Neither Wotton nor Abbot mentioned this criticism, though they were quite ready to defend Perkins on similar charges. Bishop also attacked him for his translation of a passage from Basil's De humilitate,(3) 'let man to acknowledge himself to want true justice, and that he is justified by faith only in Christ,' claiming that the last clause was inaccurate. (4) His own version of the offending phrase 'of the mere mercy of God through Christ' owed more to dogmatic presuppositions than to accurate translation of the text, which justifies Perkins' rendering. Wotton met another charge of misquotation (5) by pointing out that a printer's error was a more likely explanation that malicious misuse of the fathers.(6) It would have been a miracle if Perkins had escaped errors of quotation, because occasionally he appears to have quoted passages from memory, without giving the exact reference as he usually did.(7) Despite occasional faults, his references were fairly accurate and compared favourably with contemporary standards.

1. Bishop, op.cit., 43.
2. Reformed catholike, 1.566.
3. Ibid, 1.572; cf. J. Migne, Patrologia graeca, XXXI, S. Basilii Opera omnia, Tom. 3, 530:3.
4. Bishop, op.cit., 72.
5. Reformed catholike, 1.579, where Homily 44 on Matthew, by Chrysostom was involved.
6. A. Wotton, A defence of M. Perkins booke, 1606, 366.
7. Problem, 2.597, quoting Chrysostom and Ambrose.

Whether he understood the fathers correctly is another matter. He frequently ignored Catholic elements in their thought, or did not give them proper weight. He did not do justice to Augustine's teaching on the sacraments or merit,(1) selecting, rather, those aspects of doctrine which agreed with his understanding of the Bible. If taxed on this point, Perkins would have replied that he was being true to Augustine, because he had asked that his teaching be judged according to the scriptures. However, precisely the same charge of partiality could be levelled at all sixteenth century patristic scholarship. So far as Augustine was concerned, scholars could not agree over how he should be interpreted. The immense bulk of his writings made it possible to justify both protestant and Catholic positions.(2) One could go so far as to say that, until very recently, there have been two Augustines--a protestant and a Roman Catholic one. Roman Catholics during the sixteenth century were not in agreement about the way he was to be interpreted.(3) Indeed he proved something of an embarrassment in the Jansenist controversy of the following century. It is scarcely surprising that there should have been disputes over him between protestants and Roman Catholics.

Perkins judged him "the most judicial divine" of the ancient church (4) and quoted him far more than any other

1. Fuller, Abel redivivus,436, noted that Perkins was accused of making puritans of the fathers.
2. J.Brereley, Sainct Austines religion,n.p.1620.
3. J.Brodrick, Blessed Robert Bellarmine,2 vols.,1928,2.1-69, on the dispute between Lessius and Baius at Louvain.
4. Discourse of conscience,1.522.

father. This was not simply a protestant trait, but went back as far as Lombard's Sentences. Augustine was the doctor of the Western church. In order of frequency, Augustine was followed, in Perkins, by Jerome, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Tertullian, Eusebius, Basil, Bernard and Gregory Nazianzus.

His use of the testimony of the past was carefully related to his doctrine of scripture, as it was in all protestant theology. But if he did not use the fathers as a testimony to the voice of reason speaking throughout the ages, as Hooker had, his theology attempted to take the treasures of the past into account.(1) 'Puritan' and 'anglican' were not far apart here. Both Hooker and Perkins made important contributions to English use of the fathers in the seventeenth century, the one by a change of perspective, the other by a useful contribution to the technical side of the subject, a contribution the more striking because it had no English parallel in the sixteenth century. It compared more than favourably with the contemporary work of Tossanus in its range and depth.

English divines displayed far more interest in the fathers than their brethren in France, or the Lutherans who were increasingly influenced by their own confessional tradition,(2) a fact which reflected their interest in their

1. Fuller, Abel redivivus,435-6."His industry did not only drive a retail trade in modern writers, but...he fetched his learning, and bought his wares from the best hands of the most ancient authors."
2. Polman, L'élément historique,270-2,277.

catholic heritage. This played an important part in Perkins' polemic against Rome, as the choice of title for his popular controversial work showed. It was not an accident that he called this A reformed catholike, for he was as much the heir of Cranmer and Jewel as Hooker, and was determined to prove that the English church had more valid title to the adjective 'catholic' than Rome, which made great play with the word, but with little justification. (1)

1. Discourse of conscience, 1.546, the fathers' writings "well understood, make more for us than for the popish religion."

CHAPTER FOUR THE REFORMED CATHOLIKE.

(i)

Perkins claimed that Roman Catholics were guilty of innovation, because their teachers had followed human wisdom rather than Christ and his revelation. Consequently, his polemic had two aims--to expose the falsity of their doctrine and, at the same time, to demonstrate from the Bible, fathers and scholastics that protestants were faithful to catholic truth.(1) He had more success with the latter than with the former, so that his polemical divinity is more important for the light it throws on his own theology, than for what it told his readers about Roman Catholic doctrine.

Modern students of the period have often ignored this double significance of polemic, regarding it only as a melancholy testimony to intense religious passions which have fortunately been lost.(2) It is true that polemic literature is usually a dreary battlefield where arguments are fought over at inordinate length, without any corresponding growth of understanding. What is often forgotten, however, is the number of important theological works which were polemical, whose points were hardened and sharpened in the smithy of controversy. The demolition of unsuitable theological buildings was generally accompanied by alternative construction, so

1. Reformed catholike, To the reader, defined a reformed catholic as "anyone that holds the same necessary heads of religion with the Roman church: yet so, as he pares off and rejects all errors in doctrine, whereby the said religion is corrupted.
2. Rowse, England of Elizabeth, 387.

that no adequate account of the English theology of the period can afford to ignore the influence of controversialists like Whitaker, Fulke, Harding and Stapleton.(1) Not only did the controversies advance the study of history and patristics, and stimulate biblical studies,(2) they also forced both protestants and Roman Catholics to define their theology more carefully and thereby contributed to the development of doctrine which became obvious by the end of the century.(3)

Perkins' contribution cannot be fully understood without some understanding of the constantly increasing literature made available by polemic industry, methods of presentation and the English situation.

To begin with, disputes were often confused because, on many points, Catholic doctrine was not clearly defined.(4) Differences within the papal camp were great and some apologists were closer to the protestant position than to their more extreme brethren. Controversial method was confused.(5) Some attempted to meet protestants on their own biblical ground, others took refuge in papalism, or argued from the fathers and tradition. The main target of attack, at first, was Luther, but the geographical spread of protestantism soon widened the debate and, by 1550, it had become clear

1. T.Veech, Dr.Nicholas Sanders and the English reformation, Louvain,1935,is a model of the studies needed of these men.
2. Pelikan, Luther the expositor,110.
3. J.Pannier, L'église réformée de Paris sous Henri IV,Paris, 1911,295.
4. H.Jedin, A history of the council of Trent,2 vols.,1957-61, 2.177 ff. on differences over justification.
5. P.Polman,"La methode polemique des premiers adversaires de la réforme," RHE,1929.

that Calvin was an equally dangerous foe. Though there were many who were uncompromising about their opponents' views, there were some anxious to heal the split in Christendom, but the collapse of the Diet of Ratisbon in 1541, the divisions amongst protestants, and political complications, showed that the task of reunion was practically impossible.(1)

Revival within the parts of the church which had remained loyal to the papacy made re-union appear less desirable. Protestants were increasingly regarded as obstinate heretics, the development of new orders like the Jesuits gave the Roman church a fresh dynamic and the Council of Trent provided it with a definition of doctrine which left no doubt about which errors were to be avoided, even if room was still left for considerable theological differences.(2) Perkins regarded Trent's deliberations with a jaundiced eye. Apart from the fact that safe-conducts for protestants had been refused, "there was no liberty to make trial of truth. For nothing was propounded but by the liking and consent of the Pope. Again, the whole council consisted of such as were of the Italian faction, whose faith was pinned on the Pope's sleeve."(3)

Two other factors beside Trent had an important influence on the course of the controversy--the work of Bellarmine and

1. Jedin, Trent, 1.355-409, discusses the course of the debate between protestants and Roman Catholics.
2. G.J.Spykman, Attrition and contrition at the council of Trent, Kampen, 1955, demonstrates this clearly.
3. Galatians, 2.188.

the Magdeburg Centuries (1559-74). This work widened the debate enormously by tracing the history of the true church throughout the whole of history, whereas previous protestant apologists had made little use of the medieval period to support their arguments. Despite the defects of the work,(1) it covered such an enormous area of material that no complete Roman Catholic reply appeared before the end of the century.(2) Another work which used historical rather than theological arguments, to discredit Roman Catholic claims was Foxe's Acts and Monuments. Perkins used it often (3) and his interest in the historical, as well as theological, arguments against Rome could well have been influenced by these two works.(4)

By the end of the century, Bellarmine had emerged as the leading Roman Catholic controversialist. He had built on and extended the work of predecessors like Cano, to produce a formidable array of arguments which no self-respecting protestant apologist could ignore.(5) Perkins attacked his opinions frequently,(6) though he had also read widely in other contemporary Roman Catholics,(7) showing how valuable it was

1. P.Polman,"Flacius Illyricus,historien de l'Église," RHE, 1931.
2. C.Baronius, Annales ecclesiastici,Mainz,1601-8.
3. Treatise tending,1.399; Direction for tongue,1.451-2.
4. Problem,2.489-90, refers to Illyricus.
5. Ryan, Historical scholarship of Bellarmine, is valuable.
6. Problem,2.559; True gain,1.660; How to live well,1.486.
7. Reformed catholike,1.610,Allen; Sermon on mount,3.39, Harding; Ibid,Sanders; Problem,2.518,Stapleton; Ibid, 2.488,Cano; Reformed catholike,1.597,Molina; Sermon on mount,3.229,Pighius; Discourse of conscience,1.517,Bannez; Problem,2.561,Suarez. He also refuted Canisius' Catechism, but his editors did not print this work, because all its contents were found in his other writings.

for a wide-ranging apologist carefully to have studied the opposing viewpoint.(1) Nor had Perkins neglected earlier protestant writers against Rome.(2) His brief surveys of important doctrines presuppose earlier and more detailed treatments, rather than supplement them.

Brevity was not common in apologetics and Perkins deserves credit for attempting to present a short survey which ordinary Christians could follow, without being repelled by technicality or length. He did not use verbatim quotations like earlier controverialists, though his method of presentation in A reformed catholike, was influenced by Whitaker and Willet (3) who had also stated common ground before they examined differences between protestant and Roman Catholic. Scholastic methods of argument were universal(4) and reflected university training in logic.

Increasing systematisation of doctrine and decline of personal contact meant that, by the end of the century, controversy had become more a struggle between rival systems. Personal abuse was beginning to decline, though the theological conflict lost none of its seriousness. Perkins did not indulge in personalities, or coarse abuse, though his language about Roman Catholicism could be very strong. He

1. Reformed catholike,To the reader, claimed to be able to give references for all his statements about Rome, if these were challenged as inaccurate.
2. Problem,2.495,Fulke; Reformed catholike,1.557,Jewel; Sermon on mount,3.240, Whitaker.
3. cf.Whitaker,Disputation; A.Willet,Synopsis papismi,1592. M.Chemnitz,Examinis concilii Tridentini,1565-73, was the first to use this more conciliatory method. Perkins knew his works,(Grain of mustard seed,1.640) but is more likely to have been influenced by these Cambridge contemporaries.
4. Pannier, L'église réformée,243-6.

referred to "a ruinous building upon a rotten foundation,"(1) "damnable abuses,"(2) "painted atheism,"(3) "lying,"(4) and to razing "the foundation,"(5) but insisted that "scholars and learned men that are to defend Gods cause and the truth of religion, yea, even against very heretics, must abstain from reviling speeches."(6) If reviled by their adversaries, they were to commit their injuries to God.

Willet and Whitaker had the same firmness about error, but attempted, like Perkins, to discuss opposing views justly, even if they finally declared them guilty before the bar of God's Word. Unfortunately, Perkins did not live to answer Bishop's refutation of his work, so we shall never know whether he would have replied with the same weapons used by his defenders, Wotton and Abbot. These included the exposure of bad syllogisms, restating arguments to prove your point instead of the opponent's, and attacks on the reliability of references. Though Perkins was sensitive about mis-statement, (7) he did not always escape this sin in his desire to simplify and abbreviate.

This problem was aggravated by plain misunderstanding. To begin with, protestants and Roman Catholics had spoken the

1. Reformed catholike,1.606.
2. Ibid,1.614.
3. Jude,3.578.
4. Reformed catholike,1.619.
5. Ibid,1.568.
6. Jude,3.544.
7. Reformed catholike,1.562, "for our disgrace they allege that we in our doctrine teach that original sin after baptism is only clipped or pared."

same theological language, but by the end of the century words like 'justify, 'merit' and 'grace' were used in different senses. Personal discussion to clarify meaning was rarely possible and intolerance was often responsible for men reading the worst possible consequences into opponents' words. Perkins saw papists as reprobates(1) and their church as a false one.(2) Roman Catholics regarded protestants as heretics who deserved the stake.(3) Increasingly polemic was written to confirm believers in their own sense of rightness, rather than to convert adversaries.(4)

English protestant attitudes to Rome were further sharpened by fear of invasion and plots to assassinate the Queen, who had some difficulty in restraining her over-zealous Commons from still severer legislative action against recusants, particularly when the missionary priests had such success in rallying demoralised Roman Catholic forces.(5) Though the political loyalty of most English Roman Catholics did not waver and the momentum of the mission sadly declined after the death of Cardinal Allen,(6) tensions remained and it is easy to understand the desire to remove every vestige

1. Treatise tending,1.396.
2. Reformed catholike,1.616; Hooker took a more liberal position,likening Rome to Samaria, not Babylon, Learned discourse on justification,sect.16.
3. Polman,RHE,1929,500.
4. J.Calvin,Tracts and treatises, (ed.T.F.Torrance),3 vols., Edinburgh,1958,3. Acts of the council of Trent,To the reader; this was written not to convince papists, but to "let all the godly see how abominable the piety of these men is."
5. Sir J.E.Neale, Elizabeth and her parliaments,2 vols.,1953-7; A.O.Meyer,England and the Catholic church under Queen Elizabeth,1916; P.Hughes,The reformation in England,3 vols.1950-4.
6. J.B.Bossy,"The character of Elizabethan Catholicism," Past and Present,1962,57, summed it up as "inertia to inertia in three generations."

of Roman Catholic influence. Perkins believed that "the toleration of two religions in one kingdom, is the overthrow of peace."(1)

He deplored the fact that "in England a papist may furnish himself almost with all kinds of books of his own heresy, and that in the shops of the protestants."(2) This greatly hindered the good of the church of England, for students were reading papist books in preference to men like Calvin and Bucer. There was nothing harmful in ministers studying such works to refute their errors,(3) but students were to use them with great circumspection.(4) Satan was always seeking to corrupt the church and found in papist writings, with their appeal to the natural man, a useful tool to lever open men's hearts.

There were also books circulating, written by apostate French protestants, which claimed that there was no substantial difference between protestantism and Rome.(5) Perkins regarded their influence as pernicious. He did not exclude the possibility of reconciliation, or condemn it out of hand, but held it must "persuade the Roman church to our religion." (6) Otherwise it would be a union of light and darkness which destroyed the liberty of the gospel. To surrender this would be the height of ingratitude to God.(7) To prevent this,

1. Galatians, 2.324.
2. Vocations, 1.771.
3. Revelation, 3.267.
4. Galatians, 2.310.
5. Polman, L'élément historique, 272-4, discusses them.
6. Reformed catholike, To the reader.
7. Ibid. Epistle dedicatory.

Perkins produced A reformed catholike in 1597, proving that difference was fundamental. Two other reasons led him to write the book--to show ordinary protestants the real difference between their church and Rome, and also to win Roman Catholics to a better opinion of protestantism, by demonstrating how close it came to their beliefs.(1) An additional reason, which he did not mention, was the influence of more liberal protestant ideas in Cambridge which, to men like Perkins, seemed the first step back to popery. A reminder of the irreconcilable opposition between the two religions might save many a student from theological flirtation with Rome.

Previous English controversialists had written against individual works or on specific problems.(2) No general survey of the main disputed points had appeared before Willet's Synopsis papismi. Perkins built on this, discussing more topics, making greater use of the fathers and drawing extensively from contemporary Roman Catholic sources. Like Willet, he used the abundant fruits of previous English controversy found in the writings of Jewel, Fulke and Whitaker, summarising their results in order to present a survey of key issues. His Probleme of the forged catholicisme provided patristic and scholastic evidence for positions

1. Reformed catholike, To the reader.
2. Polman, L'élément historique, 351-8, gives a brief survey. J.Pollen, The English Catholics, 1920, 107-11, discusses early Roman Catholic apologetics. Veech, Sanders, has valuable material, but there is no complete survey of either side.

already set out in A reformed catholike, as well as discussing many more questions.

(ii)

The latter began with an examination of the meaning of Revelation 18.4. Perkins accepted the identification of Rome and Babylon and therefore treated the verse as a command to separate from Rome. "All those who will be saved, must depart and separate themselves from the faith and religion of this present church of Rome."(1) This was not schism, but obedience, for the group which sinned and made separation necessary had departed from the Word of God which constituted the church. Rome had become Satan's servant by following human wisdom,and though she still had the form of a church through her possession of the Word and baptism, these were not really hers. They benefited only the small number of elect hidden in her midst like corn in a heap of chaff,(2) like a lantern "holdeth the candle, not for itself, but for others."(3) Alternatively, Rome could be compared with a divorced wife, brazen enough to flaunt her wedding ring.

This, in summary, was his answer to the Roman Catholic taunt, 'Where was your church before Luther?', a question which was as meaningless as asking, 'where was the church in

1. Reformed catholike,1.557.
2. Ibid,1.616; cf.Calvin, Institutes,4.1.2, for the same figure.
3. Reformed catholike,1.617; Revelation,3.329; Martyr,Commonplaces,4.6.41,called Rome a ruined house,with only the steps of Word and baptism left.

Pergamum?'(1) The true church was always concealed within the visible church and kept by the providence of God, by whose election some were called, others forsaken. "Our church hath ever been since the days of the apostles, and that in the very midst of the papacy."(2) Her continuity depended on nothing human, but on the God who called her by his divine Word.

There was no need for a guardian of truth to sit in Rome when the church was so defended and ruled by God. The pope did not embody her unity,(3) or preserve the pure,living tradition of the apostles. Still less was he the spiritual heir of Peter,whose pre-eminence among the twelve had been surpassed in every way by Paul.(4) The apostles had not delegated their authority. It was incommunicable and unique, conferred solely for the founding of the church. "Once founded, it was needful only, that there should be pastors and teachers for the building up of it unto the end of the world." (5) Nor did Christ need a visible spiritual deputy. He was present in Word and Spirit,guarding the spiritual foundations of his church. Care for her external order was given to the magistrate.

These biblical and theological objections to the papal primacy were protestant commonplaces. Perkins reinforced

1. Revelation,3.294.
2. Reformed catholike,1.616.
3. R.W.Dixon, History of the church of England,6 vols.,London and Oxford,1884-1902,5.66,quotes Heath in 1559,"By leaping out of Peter's ship we must, I say, be overwhelmed with the waters of schism, sects,and divisions."
4. Reformed catholike,1.608.
5. Ibid,1.609.

his contention that support of the papal primacy was bad theology, by demonstrating that it could not claim antiquity either. In his Problem, he set out the historical evidence for this claim.(1) He said nothing fresh and altogether his discussion was inferior to the treatments of Sanders (2) and Fulke.(3) He was content to cite those fathers who held that the 'rock' in Matthew 16.23 was either Christ, or Peter's faith.(4) No attempt was made to reconcile or even to discuss the statements from Bede and Hilary which occurred in both groups, or to decide which interpretation was correct. Evidently, he felt that it was sufficient to show that not all the fathers agreed that the 'rock' was Peter.

The evidence for Peter's twenty-five year stay in Rome, mentioned by Eusebius, was dismissed because his evidence was late,(5) and also because it meant Peter had disobeyed Jesus' command to be apostle to the gentiles.(6) Nor did history justify the claim that the bishops of Rome followed Peter in apostolic succession. Contradictions in the lists of bishops discredited Roman Catholic claims.(7) Further proof of the lateness of the primacy was found in the fact that it was unheard of before 607, when Pope Boniface III had obtained the headship of the church from the Emperor

1. Problem,2.581-93.
2. Veech, Sanders,121-4.
3. W.Fulke,Answers,(ed.R.Gibbings),Cambridge,1848,272 ff. Willet, Synopsis,105-12, relied heavily on Fulke.
4. Problem,2.583.
5. Ibid.
6. Galatians,2.195-6.
7. Problem,2.583.

Phocas.(1) Only seven years before, Pope Gregory I had called anyone who claimed the title 'universal bishop', the forerunner of Anti-Christ. Perkins rejected the usual Roman Catholic reply. Gregory had not said this only because the title was claimed by John of Constantinople, when it rightfully belonged to Rome. His condemnation was general. Perkins supported this by quoting from Gregory's letter.(2)

Nor was there any historical basis for the papal claim to universal jurisdiction. Any power possessed outside Rome had come from willing submission to arbitration. Perkins claimed that his position was held by "such of the fathers as be of undoubted credit."(3) When they spoke of the primacy of Peter, or of the bishop of Rome, they included the other bishops and apostles.(4) Papal power had developed gradually, sometimes snatched by violence, (as in the deposition of Childeric)(5) sometimes gained by fraud and sometimes given by donation. "By these means it grew up to that intolerable height it was of late."(6)

Perkins was summarising and popularising what many had already written, but his discussion contained one novel point.

1. Problem,2.581. He cited several medieval chroniclers--Martinus Polonus, Otto Frisingensis, Marianus Scotus and Hermannus Contractus.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid,2.582. These were Cyprian,Cyril,Chrysostom,Jerome.
4. Ibid.
5. Problem,2.593. Perkins' use of medieval chroniclers, contrasts with Willet, Synopsis,130, who used Calvin to make the same point.
6. Problem,2.585.

This was his appeal to medieval English history to justify the power of the godly prince over the church. Other parts of Christendom had been yoked to the papal primacy from an earlier period, but the kings of England had resisted it for a millenium. Their sturdy independence appeared, for example, in refusal to recognise Augustine's authority as papal legate.(1) Becket was

> "the first that durst offer to cast off to refuse the Kings authority in causes spiritual...and by this means he infringed the liberties of the English church."(2)

Perkins drew further support for his thesis from Matthew of Paris' account of King John's reign. The surrender of the latter to the Pope had precipitated the barons' rising. Power to receive appeals and to invest bishops was not wrung from the English Crown until about 1172, when Henry II "much against his will was brought to subject himself, and his kingdom to the court of Rome."(3) The doctrine of the godly prince could be held without embarrassment, when it had such an honourable history behind it.

One important aspect of the primacy remained to be discussed--the claim that it preserved a succession of pure doctrine. Protestants usually denied this by pointing to heretical popes, and until Cano distinguished between the pope as a private person capable of error and as vicar of Christ, popes of dubious orthodoxy embarrassed Roman Catholics.(4)

1. Problem, 2.586, where Perkins quoted Geoffrey of Monmouth.
2. Ibid, 2.585.
3. Ibid, 2.586.
4. Veech, Sanders, 143 ff.

Perkins mentioned the monothelite heresy of Honorius I, but ignored the legend of Pope Joan which earlier apologists had used.(1) He must have known the story, because it occurred in the same chroniclers he referred to for the story of Phocas and Boniface.(2) If his reason for ignoring the story for controversial purposes was lack of historical evidence, or a conviction that Panvini had shown its falsity,(3) or even certainty that he could establish his cause without it, it marked a willingness to sacrifice scurrilous material which earlier writers had used. Taken alone it is insignificant enough. Placed alongside Perkins' use of medieval chroniclers, references to manuscripts and old letters, it can be legitimately interpreted as a straw in the historical wind which was to grow steadily in force once more adequate knowledge of the past was available. The method was established. It only needed to be refined.

Perkins did examine other issues related to the order of the church, (like cardinals, bulls and indulgences, Latin in services and marriage of clergy), but his main interest was soteriology. The Christocentric emphasis already clear in his doctrine of authority and of the church, re-appeared in his sections on merit, satisfaction and the Lord's supper. Any doctrinal statement which appeared to threaten the uniqueness and perfection of Christ's work was anathema, for

1. J.Jewel,Works,(ed.J.Ayre),4 vols.,Cambridge,1845-50, Apology,71.
2. Problem,2.581.
3. Polman, L'élément historique,228-9, discusses the refutation of this legend by Panvini in 1562.

it undermined the certainty of salvation by introducing unreliable human factors. No man could ever be sure that he had done enough to merit salvation. To deprive him of the certainty that his eternal problems were divinely solved was no better than spiritual torture.

It would have been useless to discuss the similarities and differences between the protestant and Roman Catholic doctrine of merit without defining terms. Merit, then, was anything, or any work,

> "whereby Gods favour and life everlasting is procured; and that for the dignity and excellence of the work or thing done; or, a good work done, binding him that receiveth it to repay the like." (1)

In his Problem he analysed the usage of the word in Cyprian, Ambrose, Eusebius and Augustine, and concluded that in the Latin fathers it meant "to do something which is acceptable and pleasing unto God, and worthy of account; and to obtain or get anything of God, even without any desert of ours."(2)

Both sides agreed that without merit there was no salvation and that Christ was the foundation of all merit. Difference came over how this merit was given. Roman Catholics taught that merit was given by grace, but that Christ had also merited so that men could win further merit by good works. Perkins rejected any idea of human merit before God. Salvation was wholly the gift of God and merit was found only in Christ. It was imputed to believers by celestial book-

1. Reformed catholike,1.574.
2. Problem,2.535.

keeping which freed them from the burden of spiritual bankruptcy. In summary form, the difference could be put thus--"the papist maintaineth the merit of his own works: but we renounce them all, and rest only on the merit of Christ."(1)

This was a gross and unjust over-simplification. The decree of Trent was perfectly explicit about the centrality of Christ.(2) Perkins showed no sign of having understood the Roman Catholic attempt to balance the grace of God and human responsibility. He was too thoroughly schooled in protestant theology to be able to think himself into another system. Bishop attacked him for his failure and counter-argued that, in Christ, men stood in a new relation to God in which desert had a natural place,(3) because only a son could rightfully claim a reward. This relation was not one in which God was man's debtor. Rather, in his mercy and grace he had covenanted to reward good works.

Perkins had alluded to this argument, but read his own meaning into 'covenant' and easily led the discussion to a safely protestant conclusion by distinguishing between legal and evangelical covenants.(4) In the latter, the notion of merit had no place. Men were bound to good works, but they were testimonies of thankfulness, not actions calculated to win reward. Inheritance was certain and notions of merit

1. Reformed catholike,1.575.(misnumbered 579)
2. Waterworth, Decrees,103, where Christ's place was thus defined,"all our glorying is in Christ: in whom we live; in whom we merit;...bringing forth fruits worthy of penance, which from Him have their efficacy; by Him are offered to the Father; and through Him are accepted by the Father." cf.Bishop,Reformation,1.89.
3. Ibid,92.
4. Reformed catholike,1.576.

and reward had no place in a genuinely filial relationship. If this was so, it was plain that Roman Catholics were still living under the old covenant which had no validity as a way of salvation. The gulf between the two positions was also illustrated in Perkins' discussion of 'reward'. He argued that the word was to be interpreted figuratively, but did not make clear why this should be so. Any suggestion that men merited salvation because God had given Christ for that purpose was dismissed as "a dotage of their own devising."(1) Theology and biblical text had been united, with the inerrancy of the former ascribed to the latter.

Bishop attacked this teaching as a devaluation of Christ's work,(2) as a result of which "heaven is the due and just stipend,...which God by his justice oweth to persons so working by his grace."(3) According to Perkins, he had given Christ his rightful place, because his death had procured pardon for sin, imputation of his righteousness to believers and finally, life everlasting. Scripture claimed no more for it.(4) To make men partners in salvation, (as distinct from sanctification) implied that the work of Christ was imperfect. He was "a most perfect mediator, doing all things by himself, without the help of any."(5)

Works performed by the aid of the Holy Spirit were not perfect. They were fatally corrupted by human imperfections

1. Reformed catholike,1.576.
2. Bishop,Reformation,1.99-100.
3. Rheims. New Testament,1582, on 2.Tim.4.8.
4. Reformed catholike,1.576.
5. Ibid.

and had eternal worth only because "they are enriched with Christs merits and righteousness."(1) God's promise of a crown of righteousness was a gracious gift. Nothing men could ever do would win such a prize. Its attainment depended on God's certain promise, not on man's ethical faithfulness.(2)

This brief summary of Perkins' understanding and criticism of the Roman Catholic case shows how difficult it was to grasp the opposing viewpoint.(3) It was impossible for controversialists to avoid putting their own construction on key words, because the theological differences were not simply surface disagreements, but also stemmed from contrary doctrinal foundations. Further difficulties were created by Perkins' method. Brevity and simplicity were an admirable aim, but he rarely escaped from distorting Roman Catholic teaching, particularly when he presented his readers with a sketch, rather than a photograph, of their opponent's beliefs.

Even if he could justify all his points by quotation, the gravest weakness of his approach was his practice of treating 'places' of doctrine separately and refuting them individually. He thereby conveyed the impression that he had demolished the Roman position point by point, but he

1. Reformed catholike,1.577.
2. Ibid.
3. Revelation,3.266,set out the qualifications required to refute false teachers. They needed a meek and humble spirit as well as a thorough knowledge of the error, "for it is a foul oversight to misconceive the state of the adversaries question, by propounding it otherwise than they hold."

failed to appreciate the importance of the whole system of Roman Catholic theology in which the parts had their life. His treatment lopped off various errors, but failed to penetrate to its heart and, with one thrust, dispatch the enemy.

Each of his sections raised issues which were fundamental, but remained unanswered. In his examination of 'merit', he ignored the problems which were raised by his understanding of God's relation to the believer, taking this for granted in his refutation of the Roman Catholic position. The same charges can be urged against Bishop, who shared Perkins' failure to look below the surface disagreements, as well as his weakness for over-simplification and misstatement. Consequently, sixteenth century polemic theology is often more valuable for the light it throws on the thought of the writer, than for its analysis of the opposing position.

In Perkins' section on merit, for instance, the key to his arguments is found in the part headed 'our reasons.'(1) Here he analysed the properties which made a work meritorious. It must be done by oneself, it must be done freely and not of debt and it must be done to the profit of another, who then repays it with a reward proportional to the work. On these grounds, Perkins concluded that the manhood of Christ, considered apart from his Godhead, could not merit before God. If this was so, how could sinful men merit pardon for their

1. Reformed catholike,1.575.(misnumbered 579)

sins? Fortunately they were not expected to, for mercy excluded any notion of desert. The Bible condemned any attempt to win salvation by works,(1) as had the fathers (2)--that is those who had been true to the biblical evidence.

The impression, already gained, of a failure to examine presuppositions, which made understanding difficult and agreement impossible, is reinforced when Perkins' section on satisfaction is examined.(3) He did not hesitate to concede that ecclesiastical and civil satisfactions were lawful. Nor did he deny that God's justice must be perfectly satisfied. Controversy centred round the claim that it was possible for men to satisfy, even partially, for their sins in either heaven or earth. Roman Catholics believed that denial destroyed morality,(4) but according to Perkins, acceptance of this proposition was so erroneous, that

> "if there were no more points of variance but this one, it should be sufficient to keep us always from uniting our religions, and cause us to obey the voice of Christ, Come out of her my people." (5)

He maintained that "a satisfaction that is made imperfect either directly or by consequent, is indeed no satisfaction at all."(6) He quoted Biel to show that this was the

1. Reformed catholike,1.575.
2. Ibid,1.576.
3. Ibid,1.577-80; Problem,2.565-7, where Perkins concluded that though patristic use of the term was careless, it never meant taking away sin of itself, but only insofar as Christ was laid hold of.
4. T.Hill, A quatron of reasons,Antwerp,1600,66, said it "robbeth the poor of their alms, children of their education,the sick of their relief, and maketh men unwilling to do any good work at all."
5. Reformed catholike,1.577.
6. Ibid.

tenor of Roman Catholic teaching, but this was a polemic trick, for Trent had been far more careful in its definitions of satisfaction that the later schoolmen. This tactic forces us to ask whom Perkins was refuting.

At the beginning of the Problem, he claimed that he was discussing

> "the doctrine concerning the way and means of salvation, propounded in the council of Trent, in the Roman Catechism to the parish priests, and in the Missal and Breviary, which are reformed and printed by the command and authority of Pope Pius the fifth,"(1)

but this was not always the case. He too easily equated the schoolmen and the post-Tridentine church, as is shown by the quotation from Biel. Yet, if it was not always clear whether Perkins was attacking the officially formulated standards of the church, popular misunderstandings of this, or simply taking the most extreme statements he could find in contemporary Roman Catholic theologians, he was not entirely to blame. Many Roman Catholics did not use the decrees of Trent exactly. Indeed sometimes they used formulae which had been discarded.(2) Perkins was willing to use suitably damning quotations, but did not ask whether this was consistent with the hypothesis of a church so dominated by the pope that nothing took place without his will. He exaggerated, for instance, the part played by Innocent III in formulating the doctrine of transubstantiation,(3) not realising that the papacy followed her battalions as often as she led them.

1. Problem, 2.486.
2. Tavard, Holy writ,229-31.
3. Problem,2.559.

Nor did he do justice to the diversity of opinion in the Roman Catholic church. He often stated alternatives, and wrongly assumed that he had covered all the possibilities of Roman doctrinal statement. Consequently, when he said that "if we satisfy in our own persons, we are not saved freely: and if we be saved freely, we make no satisfaction at all,"(1) he had not impaled his Roman Catholics on the horns of an insoluble theological dilemma. The way was still left open for Bishop to argue that nothing men did added to their forgiveness, but that performance of works of satisfaction reminded them of their frailty and prevented further falls.(2) He insisted as strongly as Perkins that the work of Christ was the source of all grace.

This appeared clearly in his reply to Perkins' claim that if Christ's satisfaction was applied by the works of satisfaction, or if he had died so men could satisfy God with his aid, men were made equal to Christ. Bishop found this chain of reasoning unconvincing and could not see how the delegation of kingly power detracted from royal authority.(3) Rather it underlined the monarch's grace to his subjects.

Patristic and biblical quotations supported positions arrived at on other grounds. Perkins' appeal to certain fathers was met by a series of counter-quotations, and the

1. Reformed catholike,1.578.
2. Bishop, Reformation,1.106.
3. Ibid,Part 2,n.p.1607,Preface 3-4.

remark that, for this doctrine, protestants must be content with "odd fragments of ancient writers."(1) Nor was his demolition of some of the biblical evidence for the Roman Catholic doctrine convincing, except for his rejection of the Vulgate translation of Matthew 3.2. This was not 'do penance' but 'repent'.(2) The difficulties of interpretation appeared in his discussion of the meaning of the various sacrifices mentioned in Leviticus 4. He fitted them into a typological framework, as forerunners of Christ's sacrifice. Roman Catholics put a different 'literal' construction on the chapter, arguing that they were temporal satisfactions for sin,(3) but Perkins had no explanation for this difference except sinful blindness on their part. The difference between text and the framework into which it was fitted had not become clear, so that both sides attacked the symptoms of misinterpretation, rather than the underlying dogmatic framework which conditioned it.

Perkins' concluding paragraphs on satisfaction discussed the Roman Catholic teaching that prayer, alms and fasting satisfied for sin.(4) Augustine had taught that reciting the Lord's prayer was one way of satisfying for sin, but Perkins evacuated his words of their natural meaning when he claimed that Augustine was only saying that public penance was not necessary for all sins.(5) With a potent-

1. Bishop, Reformation,1.108.
2. Reformed Catholike,1.580.
3. Ibid,1.579.
4. Ibid.
5. Problem,2.568.

ially awkward patristic text so neatly disposed of, the path was open for Perkins' alternative--that these three activities were only testimonies of thankfulness.(1) Bishop summed up this teaching in one word--immorality,(2) the final consequence of which was that they "so leave, and lay all pain and sorrow upon Christs shoulders, thinking themselves (belike) to be born to pleasure and pastime, and to make merry in this world."(3)

This showed how far misunderstanding had gone, for Perkins had denounced this attitude. "We deceive ourselves, if we think that he is only to be known of us as a redeemer, and not as a spectacle or pattern of all good duties."(4) He could not justly be charged with endangering public morals. Indeed, his determination to extract moral instruction from the most abstruse doctrines becomes almost wearisome.

His emphatic repudiation of any antinomian tendencies stemmed from his understanding of the work of Christ about which something must be said, if his rejection of Roman Catholic 'perversions' of the doctrine is fully to be understood. He did not go into detail on Christology, but sketched in the

1. Problem,2.566.
2. Bishop, Reformation,1.118-9. "In stead of our fasting, and other corporal correction: they fall to eating, and that of the best flesh they can get, and take in the Lord, all such bodily pleasure, as the company of a woman will afford. In lieu of giving alms to the poor, they pill them by fines and unreasonable rents: and by usury and crafty bargains, are not ashamed to cozen their nearest kin. Finally, in place of prayer, and washing away their own sins by many bitter tears, they sing merely a Geneva psalm, and rail, or hear railing at our imagined sins, or pretended errors."
3. Ibid,119.
4. Christ crucified,1.628.

outlines of the doctrine of Calvin and Martyr.(1) This done, he filled out the bare bones of doctrine with detailed practical application which had no previous parallel in reformed theology.

He insisted that God and man could only be reconciled by one who shared divine perfection and human nature. Men could not speak to God, whose naked majesty would have been more than they could bear.(2) God had decreed that the problem should be overcome by his Son taking human nature, in its infirmity but not its sin,(3) into his divine person.(4) This was a union of persons, but not of substance,(5) for it was through the manhood of Jesus that the benefits of his divinity were given to men. The incarnation could be called the foundation of all comfort,(6) for if Christ had not taken on himself the nature by which God had been offended, he could not have satisfied God's outraged justice. Conversely, without being God, he could not have saved man, or suffered the infinite punishment necessary to atone for the sins of the world.(7) At times, Perkins stretched the distinction between the two natures near to breaking,(8) but he attempted to make it clear that it was the whole person of Christ that

1. P. van Buren, Christ in our place,1957; J.F.Jansen, Calvin's doctrine of the work of Christ,1956.
2. Creed,1.177.
3. Ibid,1.176-7.
4. Galatians,2.273.
5. Creed,1.180; Problem,2.513, called the union 'personal.'
6. Galatians,2.273.
7. Creed,1.173-7.
8. Ibid,1.187, when he spoke of the sufferings of the cross affecting only the humanity of Christ.

mediated.

This description of the hypostatic union had important consequences for other parts of his theology. He used it to explain his doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist, to emphasise that the union between Christ and the Christian was 'real' without being 'substantial', and to show that justification did not necessitate an infusion of divine grace. Faith united men to Christ's manhood, through which salvation was given. He bridged the division between God and men, but did not erase it. Men were not removed from earth into a heavenly realm, but were delivered from the sins which had prevented them serving God in the world. Two themes recur when Perkins discusses the work of Christ. He insisted that it was perfect and that its efficacy was limited to the elect. (1) It was unthinkable that men had the power to reject what God had done. Ergo, their response was decreed.

For those who were elect, the death and resurrection of Christ purged them from sin, freed them from dead works and the power of Satan, and gave them liberty to enter heaven. The merit of Jesus' death placed men in right relationship to God, but that was not the end of the matter. The efficacy of Christ's death mortified their sinful natures and the power of his resurrection vivified them, so that they shared

1. Creed, 1.186-7, which placed the cross within God's decree. Galatians, 2.164, laid down that God's will was a higher cause than his love. Ursinus, Summe of religion, 558, taught that love was the cause of the cross, because his theology was not so rigidly supralapsarian as Perkins.

in the powers of the risen and triumphant Christ, as they battled against sin in themselves and others. Once men saw this they would not be contented with earthly things, but would strive to lay hold of Christ, in order to share his kingly rule. Perkins gave the cross a central place here, teaching that

> "if we would know the true God aright, and know him to our salvation, we must know him only in Christ crucified...In Christ he setteth forth and gives his justice, goodness, wisdom, and himself wholly unto us." (1)

How were men to discover this truth? He set out the answer in A declaration of the true manner of knowing Christ crucified, published in 1597,(2) which said little on the technical theological details of the atonement, but a great deal about the 'use' of the doctrine, because he believed it was useless having a knowledge which swam in the brain, without gripping the affections.(3) Theology needed to be supplemented by experience.

Perkins suggested three ways in which men could be brought to realise the significance of the work of Christ for themselves. Firstly, men should consider Christ as he was portrayed in the Gospels and revealed in the ministry of the Word and sacraments.

> "Thou must labour to feel thyself to stand in need of Christ crucified; yea, to stand in excessive need even of the very least drop of his blood, for the

1. Christ crucified,1.630.
2. R.Baxter, Universal redemption,1694,176, called the work, "the choicest piece I think that ever he wrote." I owe this reference to Dr.J.Packer.
3. Christ crucified,1.627;cf.Greenham, Works,110, for a similar expression.

> washing away of thy sins," feeling "thyself to want all that goodness and grace that is in Christ."(1)

Secondly, he advised application of this to the heart by use of the imagination, so that men literally saw Christ crucified in their place. Lastly, the Christian needed to identify his affections with Christ's and become transformed into him, valuing him above "ten thousand worlds."(2) When men had this attitude of mind and personal relationship to the crucified Jesus, their whole life would be lived in conscious union with, and dependence upon, him. Strengthened by this bond, men could bear their crosses not as tragic burdens, but as the trials of a loving Father. Their attitude to the world would be changed and instead of following their own fickle wills, they would conform to Christ's example "in the practice of every good duty that may concern us, without exception simply and absolutely."(3)

Though all the reformers had emphasised the role of the cross in the life of the believer, Perkins' emphases are new to reformed theology and appear to owe something to medieval passion mysticism.(4) His meditations, to bring home the passion to the imagination, have some similarity to Loyola's.(5) Possibly Perkins borrowed and adapted, as Bunny had adapted Parson's work for protestant purposes.(6) Both

1. Christ crucified,1.626.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid,1.628.
4. cf.J.Tauler, The following of Christ,1910,201-20. Creed,1.187, criticised Luis de Granada for seeking to arouse sorrow for Christ and Mary by his passion meditations. His own object was to arouse men's sorrow for their sins.
5. I.Loyola, Spiritual exercises,(ed.H.Keane),Sects.,195-209.
6. E.Bunny, A booke of Christian exercise,Oxford,1585.

Perkins and Loyola attempted to produce disciplined Christians, dedicated completely to the service of God, but the evidence is too slender to be certain that the former had borrowed from an important contemporary Roman Catholic spiritual guide in order to increase practical understanding of one of the central doctrines of the reformed faith.

Perkins stressed that Christ's lordship must be recognised in all human activity.

> "If thou wouldest come to God for grace, for comfort, for salvation, for any blessing, come first to Christ hanging, bleeding, dying upon the cross, without whom there is no hearing God, no helping God, no saving God, no God to thee at all."(1)

When the work of Christ was unique and perfect, there was no place for many Roman Catholic doctrines which supplemented that which needed no human addition, but demanded total obedience. Prayer to the saints and Mary, fasting, clerical celibacy and monastic vows were redundant if the work of Christ was given its rightful place.

(iii)

Nor did Perkins' interpretation of Christ's work leave any room for the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, for on this basis it was clear that the Mass was "an abridgement or compendium of all superstition and idolatry."(2) Vast quantities had been written already about the Eucharist,(3) because of the crucial place it occupied in Roman Catholic

1. Christ crucified,1.634.
2. Idolatry of last times,1.691.
3. Polman, L'élément historique,419-64, gives a survey.

practice and theology.(1) Writers freely borrowed others' material and by the end of the sixteenth century most of the important issues had been thoroughly discussed. Until there was another change of theological perspective, originality should not be expected. Clarity in presentation of the issues was the most that could be asked of controversialists, which Perkins achieved only at the cost of some over-simplification.

Though he discussed most of the disputed issues in eucharistic theology, the two central questions were the nature of the eucharistic sacrifice and Christ's presence in the elements. Perkins used much traditional language about the sacrifice. He agreed that the Supper was a sacrifice of thanksgiving for Christ's real sacrifice and that the breaking of the bread was sacramentally the offering of Christ on the cross,(2) but denied that this could be termed a 'real' or 'proper' sacrifice, even when the Roman Catholic distinction between a bloody and an unbloody sacrifice was used, because this distinction was not mentioned in scripture.(3)

He attempted to trap his opponents in a dilemma from which there was no escape, by claiming that if the sacrifice was what they claimed, it must be a continuation, or repetition of Christ's sacrifice. Either implied that it was imperfect. A real sacrifice abolished the memorial aspect of the Supper and impugned the uniqueness of Christ's priesthood,

1. Roman Catechism,204, said no means of grace compared with it.
2. Reformed catholike,1.593.
3. Ibid,1.594.

as did repetition.(1) Catholics claimed to avoid both alternatives, teaching that not only was the eucharistic sacrifice one and the same with Christ's perpetual sacrifice, but that the priest was one--Christ himself.(2) Perkins did not do justice to this, and if he was attacking mis-statements he should have said so, instead of regarding them as the norm for the whole Roman church.(3)

In his Problem, he adduced historical arguments to support A reformed catholike's biblical ones.(4) The Roman doctrine had been unknown before Lombard. Examination of the patristic evidence revealed that originally the doctrine had no associations with transubstantiation, or literal 'sacrifice' by a priest, though it was linked with the idea of an unbloody representation of Christ's sacrifice.(5) It had been offered by the whole church, sanctified by the faith of the givers and based on the whole action of the supper, not just the breaking of the bread. In a word, it could be defined as a "typical and figurative sacrifice,"(6) which kept the relation between sign and thing signified. All reformed theologians called this relation 'sacramental' and believed it to be fundamental to the nature of the sacraments.(7)

1. Reformed catholike,1.594.
2. Roman Catechism,244-7.
3. Problem,2.552,where he did not so qualify his quotations.
4. Problem,2.550-4.
5. Ibid,2.550. Reformed catholike,1.594, had rejected this
6. distinction as unbiblical. Study of the fathers changed Perkins' mind.
6. Ibid.
7. Calvin,Institutes,4.14.17; McLelland, Visible words,246-7; Hooker,Ecclesiastical polity,5.67.1.

He denied that the word 'sacrifice' had the connotation of 'real', 'proper' and 'substantial', given it by Roman Catholics.(I) They had confused name and thing. When the fathers spoke of'sacrifice', they referred to the offering of alms, to the representation of the cross, to its commemoration, to the application of the cross by faith, to the sacrifice of prayers, praises and thanksgivings, and finally to the self-offering of the church.(2) Likewise their references to 'altar' were figurative,(3) as were their opinions about the Supper benefiting the damned.

> "Therefore when we do read these tropical speeches of sacrificing, and offering, in the fathers, we must not believe that they did admit any other propitiatory sacrifice, but only the passion of Christ, being the only sacrifice of the whole world." (4)

Perkins' statement of the patristic evidence in the Problem shows that puritans (if Perkins was typical) did not underestimate the importance of the sacraments or neglect the riches of the past. However much they stressed the primacy of the Word, they still did justice to ideas like representation and the oblation of the whole church in the Eucharist, and were far from reducing it to a mere sign as their opponents claimed.(5)

This appears clearly in Perkins' teaching on the nature of the real presence. Though this was as defective in its

1. Problem,2.552.
2. Ibid,2.550-2;cf.McClelland,Visible words,250, on the last point where it is shown that Martyr did not follow Augustine,though Perkins did. Clearly the latter cannot be accused of having a 'low' sacramental theology.
3. Problem,2.553.
4. Ibid,2.554.
5. Roman Catechism,220, claimed heretics taught that the sacrament was "nothing but a memorial and sign of the passion of Christ."

presentation of Roman Catholic teaching as his other sections, it is an interesting and valuable example of reformed doctrine, supported by extensive patristic evidence. Though his explanation of the origins of the mass was over-simple and exaggerated the part played by the papacy,(1) he proved conclusively what no modern historian of doctrine would deny--that Roman Catholic doctrine did not spring fully-fledged from the New Testament, as some Roman Catholic apologists implied.

He examined the fathers' teaching about conversion of the elements and concluded that it was to be understood symbolically, for they taught only a 'sacramental', not a 'substantial' change, "whereby of bodily sustenance, by the power of the deity, is made a food for the soul."(2) The bread and the wine were "truly and properly the signs of the body and blood of Christ,"(3) not the things themselves. Words like 'eating' and 'drinking' were to be taken tropically or symbolically, "signifying the efficacy of sacramental receiving." (4) He supported this by citing patristic exegesis of Jesus' words at the Supper and his teaching in John 6, noting that the fathers also spoke of the elements in the same way as they referred to the Word and baptism.

None of the words used to describe the change were adequate. Speculation was profitless and therefore "we ought

1. Problem,2.554.
2. Ibid,2.558
3. Ibid,2.560.
4. Ibid,2.559.

not...to look into the nature of that is set before us, but into the virtue."(1) The bread and wine no longer remained, because men were to fix their attention, not on the elements, but "wholly upon Jesus Christ."(2) Though as seal and sign of our mystical union with Christ the service could be called "a mystery to be trembled at," the fathers were, according to Perkins, quite clear that the human body of the risen Christ remained in heaven.(3) Even if some had held consubstantiation, transubstantiation could not be found explicitly in scripture.(4) He quoted schoolmen on this, pointing out that they had accepted transubstantiation only because it was decreed by the church.(5)

Both protestants and Roman Catholics agreed that there was a real presence, but differed over its definition.(6) Perkins stressed that protestants held that there was

> "a real presence of Christs body and blood in the sacrament, yet we do not take it to be local, bodily, or substantial, but spiritual and mystical, to the signs by sacramental relation, and to the communicants by faith alone." (7)

Correct understanding of this was vital. Christ did not communicate the substance of his Godhead, but only its virtue

1. Problem,2.561;cf.Musculus,Commonplaces,303b; Moltmann,ZKG, 1957,308-9, suggests that the change in interest from Christ's person to his work, from substance to relation, was a mark of ramist thinking about the sacraments. If this is true, it is another sign that Perkins did not follow Ramus closely, because his sacramental doctrine did not neglect the importance of Christ's person.
2. Problem,2.561.
3. Ibid,2.562.
4. Ibid,2.563.
5. Ibid.
6. Reformed catholike,1.590.
7. Ibid.

and efficacy. This was independent of any bodily presence. To teach the latter, not only raised insuperable philosophical problems about the nature of 'body', but also destroyed the relation between sign and thing signified.

Faith bridged the chasm between heaven and earth, making Christ's presence real, though his human body remained in heaven.(1) Believers had a real presence of Christ in their hearts through their mystical union with him, and the presence in the Communion was of the same kind. This union was not only in the mind, but was true, real and near, "nearer than which, none is or can be."(2) Perkins repudiated any suggestion that grace was transmitted mechanically, though he exaggerated Roman Catholic teaching on this matter.(3) He suggested that a helpful way of understanding the relation between sign and thing signified was to compare the manner in which words aroused mental images, so that the word and the thing spoken of were simultaneously presented to the understanding. God had ordained a similar relation between the elements and Christ, so when the elements were taken, Christ was presented to the mind.(4)

Perkins' understanding of mystical union saved this doctrine from intellectualism. The mind was the seat of faith and as faith was strengthened, there was a simultaneous giving of the Holy Spirit which nourished faith and strength-

1. Hebrews,3.3, said that this presence was far more real than any bodily presence.
2. Reformed catholike,1.590;cf.Hooker,Ecclesiastical polity, 5.67.6-7, for a similar emphasis on the relation between the presence in the elements and in the believer's heart.
3. Roman Catechism,150; Reformed catholike,I.6II.
4. Reformed catholike,1.590.

ened the mystical union.(1) With these emphases, there was no danger of misunderstanding when 'substantial' was used of the giving which took place. Perkins insisted that there was a real giving of the substance of the manhood, together with its benefits.(2) His doctrine of faith, which in other respects was more rigidly defined than that in the earlier reformers, did not bring about any change in his doctrine of the presence. It remained fully rounded, attempting to do justice to biblical and patristic insights, and at the same time guarded against any recurrence of the superstition from which the reformers desired to escape.

Since the sacraments were "props of faith,"(3) means by which assurance was nourished, sealing up the covenant of grace with visible words, those outside this covenant with no real presence in their hearts, received not the body and blood of Christ, but only bread and wine. When Word, faith and Holy Spirit joined to lift men's hearts to Christ (4) they were reminded that their conversation was in heaven, not earth, and encouraged to live as true children of God, longing unfeignedly for the coming of Christ.(5) Using the sacrament only once a year at Easter was not enough. "It is to be used as oft as may be; considering that it is nothing but the

1. True gain,1.657-8; Martyr,Commonplaces,3.3.35-7.
2. Reformed catholike,1.590. This giving of the righteousness of Christ was additional to imputation.
3. Ibid,1.611.
4. Galatians,2.196.
5. Revelation,3.232.

shewing forth of the Lords death till he come."(1) In Christ, a man had need continually to feed on his Lord. "And this often nourishment of the believer is sealed unto him by the often use of this sacrament."(2) It was not something to be partaken of lightly, but needed daily preparation, which included a knowledge of the foundation of religion, faith, repentance and charity.

> "For this sacrament is a communion, whereby all the receivers, jointly united together in love, do participate of one and the same Christ...No communicant may partake with others at this table, without reconciliation, love, and charity." (3)

This section on the sacraments did not win Bishop to a better liking of the protestant religion any more than the other chapters of A reformed catholike.(4) In this aim, Perkins' work did not succeed. Anyone with a solid grounding in Roman Catholic theology would see through its misunderstandings of Rome's position, mis-statements, taking doctrines cut of context and over-simplification, though Bishop felt that it was likely to deceive the simple. Misunderstanding was mutual,(5) and until presuppositions were clarified before their results were attacked, there could be little progress in mutual comprehension. It is extraordinarily difficult to decide what is the heart of Christian doctrine. One doctrine leads to another, so that they cannot satisfactorily be discussed in isolation, but no sixteenth century contro-

1. Cases of conscience,2.81.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid,2.82.
4. Bishop, Reformation,2.25-80.
5. Tavard, Holy writ,235.

versialist gave a sufficiently extensive survey to avoid this problem. Argument was circular rather than progressive, and the opposing circles could only be broken from within.

But Perkins' work was not without merit. Bishop said "I have not seen any book of like quantity, published by a protestant, to contain either more matter, or delivered in a better method."(1) Its clarity, conciseness, attempt to be fair, scope of treatment and obvious breadth of learning make it a notable representative of a literature which is nowadays totally out of fashion. Not only was it read widely in England, but it went through at least thirteen foreign editions and was ranked next century with the works of the continental theologians, Chemnitius and Paraeus.(2)

1. Bishop, Reformation, I, Preface.
2. Wilkins, Ecclesiastes, 52.

CHAPTER FIVE IN THE ROOM OF CHRIST.

(i)

Perkins' emphasis on the centrality of the Word in the church had important consequences for his doctrine of the ministry. He taught, with all reformed theologians, that it was the appointed means by which the Word was proclaimed and through which Christ ruled his people. It was therefore essential for the ministers to know how to interpret and to proclaim the Word without hindering its power by either sin, or ignorance. Both these defects were obvious in the Elizabethan clergy and it was to prove a formidable task to raise ministerial standards sufficiently to win the majority of the population from adherence to their old practices and beliefs.

It was difficult enough to reform a city of a few thousands, even when this was attempted by such a dominating person as Calvin. In England the problem was magnified by the size of the country and the population. The forces of reform were neither united, nor in political control. No great national religious leader emerged, willing and able to challenge the Queen's religious policy, with the result that the impact of reformed ideas was considerably less than in Scotland, or protestant Switzerland.

The situation was further complicated by the shortage of ministers due to decades of neglect, deprivations, resignations, and decline in vocations because of the unsettled state of the church. The Elizabethan bishops made strenuous

attempts to remedy this,(1) but the quality of ordinands was often low and a permanent solution could be found only when the universities built up their depleted student numbers, and provided the church with more educated clergy. The importance of their contribution is shown by the 700 Cambridge men who entered the church from Christ's College alone, during the reign of Elizabeth.(2) Other ways of educating ministers had been mooted, but come to nothing.(3) Perkins saw the importance of the universities for planting saplings in the Lord's orchard.

> "Take away the liberality of princes, and good discipline from the universities, and these trees must needs decay and wither: which if they do, then the small number of good ministers will be fewer and fewer."(4)

The lack of suitable men for the ministry was also related to the spoliation of church property which had continued since Henry VIII's expropriation of the monasteries. By 1585, over half the parishes in England were worth below £10 annually to their incumbents.(5) Often laymen drew the bulk of the revenue. Crawshaw mentioned a typical case where a parish of 2,000 communicants provided the Crown with £100,

1. Correspondence of Matthew Parker,(ed.J.Bruce and T.T. Perowne),Cambridge,1853,120-1.
2. Peile,Christ's College biographical register. The figures would be higher if records were complete.
3. cf.F.Bussby,"An ecclesiastical seminarie and college general of learning,"JEH,1952, for a description of one of these attempts. Cranmer had hoped for a college in every diocese;cf. Usher, Presbyterian movement,93.
4. Calling of ministry,3.433.
5. C.Hill, Economic problems of the church from Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament, Oxford,1956,202-5.

laymen with £280, while the vicar and a preacher shared £18 annually.(1) This, when it was estimated that a learned preacher deserved £30 per year. There were only about 600 parishes that reached this minimal financial standard and many of these were held by pluralists. It was not surprising that Perkins complained bitterly about lack of maintenance and preferment which made the ministry "a plain way to beggary." Many of the brightest young men were taking law instead, for who would "undergo so vile a contempt, and undertake so great a charge for no reward,"(2) when there were far more pleasant and lucrative ways of making a living? Radical changes were needed if men were to be won to the calling of the ministry "by some arguments, which may persuade flesh and blood,"(3) changes which would have meant revolution.

Even if the Elizabethan bishops could do little more than tinker with the economic problems of the church, they achieved considerable improvement in clerical behaviour and education by the end of the century(4) despite lack of royal

1. Calling of ministry, Second treatise, Epistle dedicatory.
2. Ibid, 3.433.
3. Ibid; cf. Jude, 3.555.
4. A.T.Hart, The country clergy in Tudor and Stuart times, 1958, 31-4, gives some examples of bad clerical behaviour. For attempts to improve clerical education, Frere, Visitation articles, 3.lvi; Strype, Whitgift, 3.194ff. Not very much is known about the effectiveness of these injunctions which instructed learned preachers how to guide their brethren. Collinson, Puritan classical movement, 256-7, suggests that they were reasonably effective.

support and inadequate administrative machinery.(1) Much remained to be done, however, before there was a godly preacher in every parish able to break the bread of life and apply it to his hearers each Sunday. Puritan protests against insufficient ministers were not just carping.(2) According to their beliefs, the salvation of souls was at stake. Where the Word was not preached and applied, men were being deprived of spiritual opportunities and those who countenanced this situation could expect heavy judgement.(3)

Puritans did not only preach about these abuses, they also attempted to remedy them by agitation in parliament,(4) by prophesyings (5) and when these were suppressed because of their radical overtones, they were partly replaced by the classical movement. This was not only a trojan horse to introduce presbyterianism, but also provided a forum in which ministers could discuss their problems.(6) There was no equivalent in the official organisation of the church and for this reason the classical movement attracted many men

1. F.D.Price,"The abuses of excommunication and the decline of ecclesiastical discipline under Queen Elizabeth," EHR, 1942. For another area, see the forthcoming book on the arch-deaconry of St.Albans, by Mr.R.Peters.
2. L.Chaderton, A sermon preached at Pauls Crosse,1580,sig. Ciiia, complained of "whole swarms of idle, ignorant and ungodly curates;"cf.A.Peel,(ed.) The seconde parte of register,2 vols.,Cambridge,1915,2.89 ff. for the surveys of the ministry by which puritans sought to arouse opinion in parliament.
3. E.Dering, A sermon preached before the Queens majestie,1569, sig.Aib-Aiiia; L.Chaderton, A fruitfull sermon,1586,30-1.
4. Neale, Elizabeth and her parliaments,1.351,2.145 ff. for examples.
5. Collinson, Puritan classical movement,175 ff., gives the best discussion.
6. Usher, Presbyterian movement,41,63.

whose interest was pastoral, rather than presbyterian, amongst whom was Perkins.

He shared this concern for the improvement of clerical standards and reform of the Church of England,(1) but attacked those who meddled with ceremonies when the foundations of faith were in danger.(2) Godly ministers were few enough without dissipating their energies in fruitless disputes over what was not their concern. They should drop their quarrels, "to join hand in hand against these common adversaries."(3) Nor could they preach reconciliation, if they were not at peace amongst themselves.(4) This was not to deny that the lack of preferment for painful ministers was a serious problem, but Perkins believed that it was not the calling of ministers to remedy this. It was "a Kings evil" (5) which God would remedy in his own time.

> "Till God put into the hearts of parliaments and princes, (was the order prophetic?) to look to this great and needful work, let us ministers learn our duties: and first, we who are in the universities, are here admonished to look to ourselves."(6)

1. Sermon on mount,3.65,"Gods servants may in godly manner desire the reformation of things that be amiss."
2. Calling of ministry,3.456. Perkins never discussed the form of church government in his works, but left that to the authorities.cf. A.Marten,A reconciliation of all the pastors and cleargy of this Church of England,1590,Preface to the reader,sig.Aiva,for the same emphasis, and a plea to ministers wholly to employ themselves "in doctrine of the soul and ministrations of the sacraments."
3. Calling of ministry,3.434.
4. Galatians,2.182.
5. Calling of ministry,3.458.
6. Ibid.

Without this self-examination, ministers had no right to criticise or direct others. There was plenty to be done, even in the universities. Possession of a degree did not mean that a graduate was fitted to be a competent preacher or sympathetic pastor. Little formal theological instruction was given to undergraduates,(1) because the B.A. course was essentially a preparation for the study of either divinity, law, or medicine.(2) Practical training was almost unknown,(3) though ministers, like Greenham, attempted to bridge the division between intellectual training and pastoral practice by taking in godly students.(4) Perkins contributed to the solution of this problem by his example as pastor and preacher, and by several important books. He produced a preaching manual, two treatises on the task of the ministry and a handbook on pastoral care, entitled Cases of conscience.

(ii)

His ideas on the ministry were not original, but were largely drawn from the practice of ministers like Greenham, and Chaderton, as well as being influenced theologically by

1. Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge,124.
2. J.A.O'Donohoe, Tridentine seminary legislation,Louvain, 1957,15, discusses the weaknesses of this system, and shows how Cranmer's far-sighted proposals for ministerial training influenced Pole and Trent. Ibid,108-20,135.
3. Hyperius was first to put this on a systematic footing.
4. Greenham, Works,376; Rylands English MSS 524.

the reformed understanding of the ministry.(1) It is not clear when he preached the sermons on which his Of the calling of the ministerie was based, but they were the first solid attempt, by an English divine, to present an ideal of the ministry related to the needs and problems of the Church of England.

He taught that God was free to approach men in any way he chose, but once the order of creation was established he used the ordained means of Word and sacraments. "Though he use not always the ordinary and direct means, yet means he generally useth, though they seem contrary."(2) There was nothing to justify the Anabaptists' claim to direct revelation.(3) Indeed to try and find God by other than ordained means was folly. Preaching was the first means to arouse faith (4) and, in this, ministers played a unique part, as seen by

> "the great and glorious account which God makes of the word of his ministers, by them truly taught, and rightly applied; namely, that he as it were tieth his blessing to it: for ordinarily till a man knows his righteousness, by the means of an interpreter, God hath not mercy on him." (5)

It was not arrogance to teach that ministers must therefore be heard as if God was speaking. On the contrary it was a sign of divine mercy in teaching men" not by himself, or by his angels from heaven, which they could never endure; but by men

1. Calvin, Institutes,4.3; cf.R.Bruce, The way to true peace andrest,1617, Sermon 16, for a Scottish view.
2. Calling of ministry,3.455.
3. Sermon on mount,3.219.
4. Hebrews,3.99.
5. Calling of ministry,3.436.

who are like themselves."(1) England was not grateful for this blessing and her sham piety was exposed by the fact that "we do not in heart yield subjection by suffering ourselves to be urged and compelled to obedience by the authority of the ministry."(2)

Perkins was careful to insist that the ministry did not confer any extra holiness which gave its members an eternal advantage. In this respect all callings were equal, though so far as the honour attached to vocations was concerned, ministers had unique status, "for their labours immediately concern the good of mens souls: whereas others do first concern the body."(3) It was to this he pointed his hearers when he discussed the various titles scripture applied to ministers. Though he was not insensible to the need for adequate financial maintenance, it was status in God's sight that really mattered, because a minister was primarily God's mouth to men.

As an 'angel', a minister was to preach the Word as he had received it, careful not to mar its power and majesty in any way.(4) As an 'interpreter', his function was equally subordinate to God's sovereignty. Ministers were not the author of the salvation which they proclaimed, nor were they its workers, or the means by which men were assured. They were simply given the task of explaining what God had done, by

1. Calling of ministry, 3.451; cf. Calvin, Institutes, 4.1.5.
2. Galatians, 2.203.
3. Calling of ministry, 3.453.
4. Ibid, 3.430.

opening the covenants and laying down the means through which reconciliation was wrought.(1)

To be an 'interpreter' meant that a minister must have the tongue of the learned. Direct revelation had ended and attendance at the schools of the prophets was essential.(2) Human learning was to be used as far as possible, but Perkins was equally emphatic about the need for spiritual learning so that the interpreter could deliver God's meaning. "He must not only read the book, but eat it; that is, not only have the knowledge of divine things flowing in his brain, but engraven in his heart, and printed in his soul by the spiritual finger of God."(3)

Few ministers achieved this, and scripture correctly called a good minister 'one of a thousand.' In addition, not many of the better sort followed the calling. There were three reasons for this situation--lack of maintenance and preferment, the contempt in which ministers were held by those who resented being rebuked for their sins and, lastly, the difficulty of being "God's mouth to the people, by preaching to them from God; and the peoples mouth to God, by praying for them to God."(4) Such a task was enough to make the most able feel inadequate.

Not only was this title a spur to ministers' diligence, it also reminded rulers and magistrates to provide adequately for

1. Calling of ministry,3.431.
2. Galatians, 2.173.
3. Calling of ministry,3.431.
4. Ibid.

schools of the prophets, particularly when Jesuits made such generous provision to train their minions of Satan. Perkins appealed to student self-interest, reminding them that 'the best things are hard to come by' and therefore exhorted them to become 'one of a thousand' in God's sight. Nor should parents feel reluctant to put their best children into such an honourable calling.(1) As it was, the status of the ministry had sunk low and Perkins complained that, generally, parents gave their lame or impotent children to serve the church.(2)

In his desire to attract the 'better sort' into the ministry, Perkins betrayed one of the weaknesses of protestant thinking on the subject. Adequate preaching demanded far greater gifts and education than administration of the sacraments and its effectiveness was all too readily judged by its visible results. This opened the way to popular judgements about good and bad ministers to an extent which was not possible in Roman Catholicism, where the validity of the priest's main task (3) was unaffected by personal or moral weaknesses. It was all very well to insist on honour and submission when a minister was one of a thousand and say "run to him for conference, for comfort, for counsel; use his company, frequent his sermons, account him worthy of double

1. Calling of ministry,3.434.
2. Appendix three,Sermon one.
3. Roman Catechism,314, said sacrifice to God and administration of the sacraments were the priest's chief task.

honour,"(1) but what if he was one of the 999?

Perkins admitted that, occasionally, an unworthy minister could be used to satisfy seeking souls, to "teach us that the virtue is not in the men, but in the truth of Gods covenant,"(2) but he did not develop this, possibly because he was afraid to encourage ministerial laziness, possibly because he wished to avoid any doctrine of the Word which impugned God's absolute sovereignty. While his desire to stir up ministerial effort can be understood, he could have avoided the latter danger by relating uninspired preaching, or even reading of the Word, to his stress that God worked by contrary means to humble proud human intellects.(3) No doubt there was no excuse but laziness for some ministers' failure to preach, but to castigate all non-preaching ministers as sinners was unjust.(4) Many were victims of their education. Hooker was much more balanced when he refuted puritan objections to reading, instead of preaching.(5) In this case Perkins' realism deserted him, for while none would dispute the ideal of a preacher in every parish, it was as well that some Elizabethan clergy were kept silent in the pulpit.

He was not explicit about the duty of submission to non-preaching ministers and it seems likely that he saw no

1. Calling of ministry,3.434.
2. Ibid,3.435.
3. Ibid,3.455; Galatians,2.289.
4. Calling of ministry,3.445.
5. Hooker, Ecclesiastical polity,5.21-2.

harm in gathering a flock from neighbouring parishes without a godly preacher. In his first ministry, he had done this himself and, though he remained within the Church of England, principles such as this were not far removed from seventeenth century non-separating congregationalism. Examination of his teaching on a 'call' to the ministry supports this impression.

The call was given by Christ and ratified by the church.(1) To teach that men could become ministers of their own private motion was an 'anabaptist' idea without biblical foundation.(2) Ratification by the church's constituted authorities was an essential check on individualism and sinful ambition,(3) but Perkins attached no intrinsic importance to any one kind of authority. The consent of the wise, learned and godly "and such as the church hath publicly appointed" was sufficient.(4) Though he denied the Roman Catholic charge that the English ministry lacked lawful calling, he would have been unconcerned if the charge were true, because approbation from God and man was sufficient.(5) In times of declension God raised up men extraordinarily, conferring special gifts on men like Luther for the restoration of the church, though, in such cases, their life and doctrine must be tested by scripture, in order to exclude false prophets.(6)

1. Revelation,3.328.
2. Calling of ministry,3.459.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid,3.462.
5. Vocations,1.762.
6. Ibid,1.761.

He believed that only this doctrine did justice to God's rule of his church. This rested on doctrine, not on human succession and legality. Therefore

> "if in Turkey, or America, or elsewhere, the gospel should be received of men, by the counsel and persuasion of private persons, they shall not need to send into Europe for consecrated ministers, but they have the power to choose their own ministers from within themselves; because where God gives the Word, he gives the power also."(1)

Such circumstances were exceptional and did not support Brownist claims,(2) but exceptions readily become rules in new circumstances, so that Ames and Robinson found little difficulty in basing their congregationalism on Perkins' premises.

Perkins did not replace the church by the pious family. This might be a little church (3) but it was not the Church. Private persons taught the Word by charity, ministers instructed by special calling.(4) God blessed the labours of private men in special circumstances, just as he permitted them to become magistrates in emergency, but in settled churches the duties of the ministry were not to be usurped.(5) Because of their divine calling, only they could validly apply the promises which God had set down in the Word for their guidance and comfort.(6)

It was the task of ministers to declare men's righteousness. Only they could lead men through the terrors of

1. Galatians,2.172.
2. Ibid,2.171.
3. Oeconomie,3.670.
4. Galatians,2.262.
5. Calling of ministry,3.437-8.
6. Ibid,3.435.

the 'law' to faith and the declaration that, in God's sight, they were absolved from their sin.(1) "This is the peculiar office of a minister of God, and this is the height and excellency of his office."(2) Not only did this involve telling men where and how righteousness was to be obtained; it also meant that ministers were called to confirm the truth of God's promises. They could pawn their souls against God's Word and be confident that the pledge would be redeemed,(3) despite the mockery of sinners. Such a divinely given task was never to be compromised by preaching only the pleasant side of righteousness. Law and gospel were to be proclaimed together.(4)

More than preaching repentance and faith was involved in declaring men's righteousness. It included exercise of the power of the keys.(5) Perkins did not teach, as other puritans had, that discipline was a mark of the true church,(6) but he insisted on "thrones of ecclesiastical jurisdiction for the reprehending and punishing of all those sins which civil court reacheth not unto."(7) This power did not include compulsion (which belonged to the magistrate),(8) nor did it

1. Calling of ministry,3.434.
2. Ibid,3.435.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid,3.436.
6. W.H.Frere and C.E.Douglas,(ed.),Puritan manifestoes,1907,9; Ursinus,Summe of religion,793-811, gives discipline more detailed treatment than Perkins; J.W.Prugh,The theory and practice of discipline in the Scottish reformation,Ph.D. thesis,Edinburgh,1959,gives a valuable survey.
7. Revelation,3.293.
8. Jude,3.536.

belong to the minister. It was Christ's sentence which was pronounced and therefore it centred on the application of the Word to conscience. When this was done, ministers had power to bind up their people as "faggots for hell fire,"(1) and their sentence was as certain as if God had spoken.(2) He

> "worketh when they work, and as it were stayeth waiting, when they declare unto man his righteousness, and then hath he mercy on him: so powerful, and so effectual, is the word spoken by a minister of God." (3)

Likewise it was the minister who had been given authority to deliver sinners from their just doom.

This was not to be done lightly. Men appreciated heaven only when they were taken via hell and given a savour of God's judgements by preaching of the law, until the old Adam was put to death.(4) Ward spoke feelingly of Perkins' capacity to make his hearers' hair stand on end by his pronunciation of 'damn',(5) but if he presented a stern attitude to evil he also advised that "in the very hatred of sin, let the love of the person appear in the speeches: and let the minister include himself (if he may) in his reprehension, that it may be more mild and gentle."(6)

1. Appendix three, Sermon two.
2. Calling of ministry,3.437.
3. Ibid,3.436.
4. Galatians,2.169; Calling of ministry,3.434.
5. Fuller, Holy state,2.90
6. Prophetica,2.669;cf.Jude,3.587, warned against those who were too severe in censuring offences. "We ought on the contrary to put on the bowels of compassion towards offenders, if there be any hope of amendment; folowing herein the footsteps of Christ himself."

Once a minister was sure that repentance was genuine, his divine authority enabled him to absolve.(1) God might command doctors to heal and soldiers to fight, but it was only ministers whom he commanded to deliver men from the pit.(2) Excommunication was a last, terrifying resort, to be used only when admonition and exclusion from the Lord's Supper had failed, "when there is no other way to save the soul."(3)

Ministers had only to do with the spiritual regiment, with matters of conscience, faith, Word and sacraments which were not ordered by force, but by counsel and persuasion.(4) In these matters, even the magistrate was subject to the power of the keys.(5) Apart from these limits, the magistrate controlled all causes, spiritual and temporal, for the common good.(6) Ideally, Christians did not need to be ruled by men, but because the church was not 'gathered' and included saints and sinners, "the best churches need magistracy for the punishment of the evil doers, and the praise of them that do well."(7) Though the position is commonly called 'erastian', it in fact originated with Musculus.(8)

1. Calling of ministry,3.438.
2. Ibid.
3. Jude,3.588.
4. Ibid,3.536.
5. Ibid,3.538; Calling of ministry,3.437.
6. Jude,3.536.
7. Ibid,3.537.
8. Musculus, Commonplaces, 546a ff;cf.H.Kressner,Schweizer Ursprüng des anglikanischen Staatskirchentums,Gütersloh, 1953,45-72; R.Wesel-Roth,Thomas Erastus,Lahr,1954.

Perkins demonstrated that it also had the sanction of 'antiquity'(1) before it had been corrupted by papal usurpation. He criticised both Roman Catholics and Anabaptists for denying the magistrate his rightful place in society, the one by misunderstanding Christian liberty,(2) the other by giving too little honour to the King.(3)

He called magistrates 'gods' (4) and flatly rejected the idea that it was legitimate to kill even a tyrant who ravaged church and state.(5) Punishment was God's task. Nothing could happen without his will,(6) and in all things men were to wait his judgement. Till he moved the heart of the magistrate about remaining papal images, the people must suffer them "and in the mean time, rest content with that they have done, and wait the magistrates pleasure."(7) Perkins' doctrine of the relationship between church and state had far more in common with 'anglicans' like Hooker and Bilson, than with the more radical views of the 'puritans' Cartwright and Field.(8)

Such a relationship between church and state, where the boundaries between the temporal and spiritual regiments overlapped,demanded men of sound moral and political judge-

1. Problem,2.593.
2. Jude,3.536-7
3. Ibid,3.538,"Roman religion pretendeth to teach men to fear God, but putteth down the honour of the King." cf. Hill,Quatron of reasons,64.
4. Epieikia,2.437; Musculus,Commonplaces,12a; Ursinus,Summe of religion,339.
5. Sermon on mount,3.87.
6. Revelation,3.224. Christ was also King of Kings.
7. Cases of conscience,2.116. Perkins called this 'prudence'.
8. G.H.Sabine,A history of political theory,1954,377-8, makes 'puritanism' too uniform. For a correction, George, Protestant mind,199.

ment, virtues which could be attained only by submission to the Word. It was particularly vital for ministers who were set aside to redeem souls "by the Word and holy discipline," (1) to grow in spiritual maturity and holiness, so that they could rightly advise even the magistrate on his duty according to the Word of God. Perkins emphasised this in both his tracts on the ministry, but expounded it in more detail in the second which was based on Isaiah 6.5-9.

One of the most dangerous sins which could corrupt God's servants was pride in their high office. "Therefore to prevent this inconvenience, God in mercy appointeth, that all his true ministers shall have some means or other to be cast down, even to nothing in themselves."(2) Men might rise in wordly estimation, but without this shattering experience of the grace of God they would do little in salvation of souls, which was the chief end of their calling.(3) Sharing this experience of Isaiah, and all the great prophets, reduced a man to the complete dependence on God which was the secret of spiritual power. Humility before God and authority before men were inseparable. The change of heart required was so great that Perkins claimed that "to call a man to the ministry, is the greatest work that God worketh in his church." (4)

1. Calling of ministry,3.439.
2. Ibid,3.442.
3. Ibid,3.443;cf.Dillingham,Chaderton,12-3,for a similar zeal.
4. Calling of ministry,3.443.

Without experimental knowledge of the living God,(1) ministers could not preach in such a way as struck even their simplest hearers to the heart "in that his conscience is so convinced, his secret faults so disclosed, and his very heart so ripped up, that he saith, Certainly God speaks in this man."(2) Ministers could only maintain this living relationship by having a conscience which was sensitive to the slightest departure from God's law, so that their behaviour was free from the least appearance of evil. "A minister cannot be too careful in his calling, in his words, diet, company, recreation, apparel, gestures, and in his whole carriage, because little sins are so great in him."(3) His right relationship to God helped him to introduce his congregation to the same horror of sin and desire to live a holy life. This was done not only by personal example, but also by confession of his people's faults, for a minister with a sensitive conscience about his own sins could not avoid being weighed down by those of the community in which he lived.(4)

The relation between minister and people was so close that it was all too easy for him to be corrupted by their evil ways, unless he exercised the greatest vigilance about those with whom he kept company. Once contagion took root

1. Calling of ministry,3.435; cf.Bruce,Way to rest,361; Smith, Sermons,247.
2. Ibid,3.430.
3. Ibid,3.444.
4. Ibid,3.446.

"this gangrene...will not rest till it be in the heart."(1) Thus it was better to have a living among poor and godly folk than a good living amongst corrupt people.(2) Criticism of evil ministers was right, but the last to judge were the common people from whom their minister's corruption had come.(3) Generally they deserved their bad ministers.

This share in sin should make ministers tremble in God's presence, and afraid to preach the Word and administer the sacraments without careful preparation.(4) To do these things and remain in sin placed men in a fearful case and made it unlikely that they would convert any from popery or profaneness, however eloquent or learned they were. "Let them not think that their golden words shall do so much good, as their leaden lives shall do hurt."(5) Not only should churches have their doctrine powerful for winning souls, they must also see that as well as being good scholars, their ministers' lives were inoffensive.

Such responsibilities brought the best to despair, but grace and humiliation were never far apart. "So then if thou be rich in they conceits, God hath not for thee: but if thou be hungry, he is ready to fill thee with good things." (6) Ministers must know the tensions of Christian life more than others, but God sent them special consolations to match

1. Calling of ministry, 3.446.
2. Ibid, 3.447. Perkins attacked those clergy who merely asked how good the living was, or how healthful the situation.
3. Ibid, 3.447.
4. Ibid, 3.449.
5. Ibid, 3.450.
6. Ibid, 3.452.

the demands he made on them as his representatives. Angels were sent specially for their service,(1) for, next to glorifying God and doing his will, they delighted in the conversion of souls.(2) "Those men make them oftest rejoice, which do most seriously aim at the conversion of sinners."(3) Angelic aid might demand a response of love and diligence, but gift outweighed response, for angels also gave the fiery tongue -- "the principal grace of a good minister."(4)

To those who shrank from entering such a responsible calling, Perkins gave encouragement by pointing to the certainty of God's support, if they genuinely had his call. Presumption, however, must be avoided. "Let no man therefore presume to press into this function, till he be fully resolved in his conscience, that God and his church hath said unto him, Go,"(5) for his words and deeds had no power or credit, unless "they be spoken by virtue of a commission."(6) If they were truly sent by God, "he will provide for them, and sufficiently reward them: and will honour them in the hearts of his own people, and magnify them in the faces of their enemies."(7)

Perkins said much of value in these two short works about the motives, trials and joys of the ministry. He made no attempt to gloss over its difficult side, but attempted to weed out the faint-hearted by setting out the very highest

1. Calling of ministry,3.453.
2. Ibid,3.454.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid,3.456.
5. Ibid,3.461.
6. Ibid,3.462. "Thy conscience must judge of thy willingness, and the church of thy ability."
7. Ibid,3.463.

standards. By bringing young men face to face with God and his demands, he believed that he had done all man could be expected to do. God would accomplish the rest. His portrait of the painful preacher and pastor lacked the attractiveness of Herbert's country parson, but there could be no doubt of his sincerity and devotion. His strenuous consecration reflects 'puritan' practice, rather than the theory of continental precursors like Hemmingius and Hyperius whose teaching on the ministry was serious, without having this zeal, but until more is known of continental practice, it can only be tentatively suggested that this intensity was distinctive to English churchmen of puritan leanings, before Perkins set it out in literary form.

(iii)

Though the contrast with the pre-reformation church must not be overdrawn, Perkins' insistence that preaching was the minister's principal duty (1) contrasted sharply with Roman Catholic subordination of preaching to the administration of the sacraments,(2) and the requirements of Exornatorium curatorum which laid down that sermons were only obligatory at Easter, Whitsun and Christmas.(3) Many

1. Calling of ministry,3.445; Creed,1.304, placed preaching as the fundamental mark of the true church.
2. Roman Catechism,304.
3. sig.Aiia. Published about 1515 by W. de Worde, it was a reprint of Archbishop Peacham's Constitutions,1281.

clergy were too ill-educated to preach,(1) and while there was some very great medieval preaching,(2) and a considerable number of homiletic treatises and aids,(3) the main emphasis of religious activity was sacramental.(4)

Homiletic theory was closely related to intellectual fashions. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were signs of humanist influence on the subject (5) and of a desire to break away from the often complex rhetorical structure of medieval preaching. Preaching immediately before the reformation appears to have been in a torpid and uninspiring state,(6) though Calvin exaggerated when he said,

> "what one sermon was there from which old wives might not carry off more whimsies than they could devise at their own fireside in a month. For, as sermons were then usually divided, the first half was devoted to those misty questions of the schools which might astonish the rude populace, while the second contained sweet stories, or not unamusing speculations, by which the hearers might be kept on the alert. Only a few expressions were thrown in from the Word of God, that by their majesty they might procure credit for these frivolities." (7)

In place of this preaching, the great reformers put simple biblical exposition, which was related to their

1. M.Deansley, The Lollard Bible,Cambridge,1920,188-97.
2. G.R.Owst, Preaching in medieval England,Cambridge,1926; Literature and pulpit in medieval England, Cambridge,1933; gives an admirable survey of this.
3. T.M.Charland,Artes praedicandi,Paris,1936; Spicq, Esquisse, 349-64, discusses the relation between medieval preaching and exegesis.
4. C.Smyth, The art of preaching,1940,16, quotes friars as saying that hearing sermons was more important than Mass.
5. D.Roth, Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie,Basel,1956,149-86 outlines J.U.Surgant,Manual curatorum,1503;also D.Erasmus, Ecclesiastes,1535,187-94.
6. J.W.Blench, A study of English sermons,1450-1600,Ph.D.thesis Cambridge,1955.
7. Calvin, Tracts and treatises,1.40.

conviction that God's Word did not need human adornment or arrangement to impress their hearers. They were able speakers who could draw depths of biblical meaning from a text, without going into boring details which would have lost their audiences' concentration and attention.

Reliance on pulpit giants would not extend and consolidate the reformation. Provision had to be made so that eventually every parish possessed a competent preacher. This in turn meant re-casting methods of training clergy. To begin with, traditional rhetoric retained its place in university courses, teaching men how to speak, but it was supplemented by new methods of exegesis which provided the preacher with material suitable to nourish his flock. This marriage of rhetoric and exegesis appeared in Melanchthon's De officiis concionatoris,1529, the first protestant book on preaching. Traditional rhetoric was the dominant partner, and it was not until Hyperius that this was subordinated to biblical standards.(1) Though he still used some traditional categories, he used biblical illustrations, related invention carefully to exegesis and ordered the whole to the end of preaching--the hearers' salvation. Not only did he produce a theology of homiletics; he also gave practical instruction to his students in discussions and corrected their sermons before they were delivered.(2)

1. P.Kawerau,"Die Homiletik des Andreas Hyperius,"ZKG,1961.
2. Fuller, Abel redivivus,265,517-8.

Advice on sermon preparation and instruction was supplemented by the publication of sermons by great preachers, or those who thought they were.(1) These must have filled many empty homiletic cupboards, as well as helping ordinary ministers to learn from the art of others. In England the Book of Homilies was intended to provide congregations with solid teaching where clergy were incapable of preaching, so that by the end of the century there was a considerable literature for those who wished to know how and what to preach. Perkins took full advantage of this in the compilation of Prophetica,(2) in which he sought to help his readers to preach so powerfully that the congregation felt that God was addressing them,

> "for though it be a worthy gift of God to speak mildly and moderately, so that his speech shall fall like dew upon the grass: yet it is the fiery tongue that beats down sin, and works sound grace in the heart."(3)

He was not theorising. His own preaching appears to have been powerful in this way, because he laid siege to many an undergraduate heart. Unregenerate John Cotton rejoiced when he heard the bell toll for Perkins' death, because his preaching would trouble him no more.(4)

Unfortunately it is not clear how he delivered his sermons, despite the fact that all his published works began life in this form. They were extensively re-written for

1. A.F.Herr, The Elizabethan sermon,Philadelphia,1940,27, shows how this had grown by the end of the century.
2. Prophetica,2.673, mentions Augustine,Erasmus,Junius, Hyperius,Illyricus,Hemmingius,Wigandus,Beza,Matthias as sources.
3. Calling of ministry,3.455.
4. Clarke, General martyrologie,218.

publication,(1) or when they were printed from the notes of admirers they frequently failed to catch his sense exactly and sometimes showed considerable differences. Taylor complained that in posthumous writings

> "sometimes the authors mind is not taken, and sometimes his matter is mistaken, otherwhiles his form is inverted, and not seldom either his own elegancies and proprieties, which are like goads, are neglected, or something besides his own is injuriously inserted." (2)

An example of this has recently come to light. This is The reformation of covetousnesse, which is based on Perkins' exposition of Matthew 6.19-34, also printed in A godly and learned exposition of Christs sermon in the mount. The variations between the two versions throw some light on the way Perkins' works were edited and occasionally help us to glimpse Perkins' original words.

The pirate edition appears to have fallen into the hands of Perkins' official editors, because there are many marginal corrections which influenced the official version, and some quite long passages are omitted.(3) In other cases the

1. Jude, Preface to reader, says Perkins transcribed "out of the notes of some of his hearers, the heads and marrow of things more largely in public delivered, explaining the points which were more obscure, and with a second hand polishing and perfecting things so explained."
2. Ibid;cf. Revelation, Epistle dedicatorie, by Thomas Pierson.
3. Reformation,16-7, has the following marginal note in a contemporary hand, "all this thus included was not spoken by Mr.Perkins but added by the writer for his own private use. Therefore it must be clean kept out in the next print. These 4 sides I find copier mistook it." The offending passage is not in the Works. Occasional misprints are noted-- 'conclude' instead of 'exclude',143.

more direct sermon style has been toned down,(1) Perkins' more intimate 'we' has often been replaced by the impersonal 'they',(2) there are expansions which add nothing to the sense,(3) and sometimes completely different expositions.(4) In addition, the pirate edition quotes Latin and Greek,(5) something which Perkins had denounced a decade earlier, teaching that "neither the words of arts, nor Greek and Latin phrases and quirks must be intermingled in the sermon."(6) Unless these have been added by the unknown editor of this work, Perkins may have changed his earlier attitude, though it is strange that there is no sign of this change in his other printed works. There may have been inaccuracies in this edition, but Perkins' editors were not always the best judges of his true meaning, which is often more vividly put in The reformation of covetousnesse.

1. Reformation,44,"earthly riches are subject to worms and cankers; and if no canker can come to corrupt them, yet the thief will have them." Sermon on mount,3.168, reads "Earthly treasures are subject to corruption and to loss by stealth."
2. Reformation,33, "Before we proceed any further let us descend into our own hearts." which is not in the Works. For the use of 'we' and 'they' cf.Reformation,219, and Sermon on mount,3.189.1c.
3. Reformation,244, is expanded in Sermon on mount,3.192; cf.87 and 3.173a.
4. Reformation,75, uses the ten virgins to teach the end of our life, whereas Sermon on mount,3.171, uses them to teach the need for saving graces in the heart. Reformation,26, has different biblical references from the corresponding passage in Sermon on mount,3.166c.
5. Reformation,80 for a Latin tag which is not in Sermon on mount,3.184;cf.3,165, with Reformation,14, where the latter has βρωσις.
6. Prophetica,2.670-1.

The extent to which his sermons were re-written appears when his newly discovered sermon on Hebrews 11.7 is compared with the version in A cloud of faithfull witnesses.(1) The four sermons are probably only the bare bones of what Perkins said, but they show that Perkins used the same sermon structure set out in Prophetica, though this is sometimes obscured in the Workes with scholastic additions. He began his sermons by putting the text into its context (2) to avoid arbitrary construction, briefly gave its sense,(3) or scope, before dividing it.(4) This done, he discussed the doctrines which it contained (5) and then applied it in uses.(6) Sometimes other orders appeared, as in his expositions of the Lord's Prayer, when he used the schema of coherence, meaning, wants to be bewailed, graces to be desired and duties to be practised.(7)

This simple structure aimed to allow the Bible to speak unhindered (8) and also to avoid the dangers of formlessness.

1. Appendix three, Sermon three; cf. Hebrews, 3.36-60. Unfortunately these sermons date from c.1591. It would be useful to have some from the later part of Perkins' career.
2. Calling of ministry, 3.429, 441.
3. Combat of Christ and devil, 3.371; Calling of ministry, 3.442.
4. Ibid, 3.429, 442.
5. Exhortation to repentance, 3.411.
6. Ibid, 3.416.
7. Lords prayer, 1.334-5; Sermon on mount, 3.132-3; Galatians, 2.316, has text, sense, scope, use.
8. Ibid, 2.241. Combat of Christ and devil, 3.393, pointed out the dangers of supplementing the Word by human writings. He that "would maintain the truth in purity and sincerity, must labour painfully in the text."

He eschewed any display of the human learning which had been used in preparation, not only because it was art to conceal art, but also because he would have nothing human detract from the impact of the Word. The discourse must be fit "both for the peoples understanding, and to express the majesty of the Spirit."(1) Scripture demanded plainness.(2) and this was also the method which Christ had used. He would not have dreamed of delivering his doctrine partly in English, partly in Latin, and other languages. Nor would he have intermingled scripture with sentences from poets, philosophers and fathers. Such preaching which was counted learned, but if followed

> "it will bring in as great barbarism, in regard of true divinity, as was among the schoolmen, when Gods Word was wholly turned unto needless disputation, yea, it would shortly banish the gospel out of this land." (3)

Perkins complained that this was in danger of happening, and was another sign of the apostasy which he felt was threatening the survival of the reformation in England. "Sermons are not in common reputation learned, neither do they greatly please the most, unless they be garnished with skill of arts, tongues, and variety of reading,"(4) a sure sign that the instinct of the natural man for what was pleasant rather than true had gained the upper hand. Ministers who pandered to this popular craving were falling into the classic trap laid

1. Prophetica,2.670.
2. Cases of conscience,2.55.
3. Revelation,3.260.
4. Galatians,2.166.

by Satan--that of conforming their doctrine to common error. This was quite unjust to those English preachers who were deeply influenced by the classical rhetorical tradition which was taught at university.(1) In the sermons of Playfere, Hooker, and Andrewes this preaching could be a very beautiful and compelling way of presenting the gospel.(2) No doubt some of its second-rate users sounded as if they were straining more after effect than to present Christ, but then the plain style which Perkins lauded could easily become bald, formless and repetitive,(3) though at its best it had an austere grace and clarity. His sermons read occasionally like a lawyer's brief, but are not "quite undecorated in style."(4) Though they lack many contemporary rhetorical ornaments,(5) they are not bare of imagery,(6) homely illustrations,(7) or edifying stories.(8) These are, however, kept strictly subordinate to the Word, in accord with Perkins' theology of scripture, and assist the argument rather than divert it.

1. T.Wilson, The arte of rhetorique,1553, is a good example.
2. Galatians,2.222,"To take a text, and to make discourse upon something in the said text, showing much invention of wit, and much reading, and human learning, is not to preach Christ in a lively manner."
3. W.F.Mitchell, English pulpit oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson,1932,101.
4. Blench, English sermons,263;cf.Herr,Elizabethan sermon,91.
5. Sisson, MLR,1952,495-6,refutes this charge of excessive plainness;cf.Hebrews,3.80, on the eternal city.
6. Exhortation to repentance,3.412, on walking at night.
7. Hebrews,3.79, where the simple countryman who longs to see a city is solaced with thought of the eternal city.
8. Creed,1.137.

Plain preaching was not new. It was also found in the sermons of Dering, Greenham and Chaderton,(1) which drew their inspiration from reformed preaching (2) and also from the popular preaching of early English reformers like Latimer, Hooper and Bradford. With its simple style, use of anecdotes and apposite illustrations it was an extremely effective instrument for both moving and instructing men. Perkins took it and related it to the already existing continental homiletic literature, to his own theology and to the need for more and better preaching in England. Negatively, Prophetica was also a counter-blast against the supporters of 'witty' preaching and an attempt to replace it by something more scriptural, for "the perfect and equal object of preaching is the Word of God."(3)

Effective preaching included three requirements--right interpretation, true exposition of doctrine and application of life and judgement.(4) Human knowledge was to be used diligently in preparation,(5) and Perkins gave very practical advice to his hearers about acquiring and storing this in a suitably set-out commonplace book,(6) though of course script-

1. Dillingham,Chaderton,13; Blench,op.cit.263.
2. T.H.L.Parker, The oracles of God,1947,77; A.Hyperius,The practis of preaching,1577,63b, "Truth is delighted with plainness and simplicity."
3. Prophetica,2.646.
4. Galatians,2.222
5. Prophetica,2.670;cf.N.Hemmingsen,The preacher,1574,7b.
6. Prophetica,2.651; Fuller,Abel redivivus,434, said that Perkins' sermons contained deep scholarship,"yet so insensibly as nothing but familiar expressions did appear. In a word, his church consisting of the university and town, the scholars could hear no learneder, the townsman no plainer sermons."

ure was the principal source of homiletic material and human aids were intended only to help clarify meaning, never to dictate it.(1)

Once sufficient material had been gathered by correct interpretative methods, presentation needed to be considered. Classical rhetoric had emphasised the importance of keeping closely to the arrangement of exordium, narration, division, confirmation, confutation and conclusion, for without correct arrangement the preacher would be "either left almost alone to his no little confusion: or else (which is a like rebuke to him) the audience falleth for weariness of his ineloquent language fast on sleep."(2) Calvin,Beza and other reformed preachers (3) did not worry about systematic arrangement of their sermon structure, but this needed a nice judgement and could easily lead to chaos in presentation. Hyperius saw the advantages of an order which was biblical and yet coherent. He suggested that after the reading of the text, the preacher should use the order of invocation, exordium, proposition, confirmation, confutation and conclusion,(4) to ensure that as much as possible was drawn out of a passage.

Perkins simplified this still further, advising that the minister should read out the text distinctly, give it a sense which agreed with the scope of scripture, collect a few

1. Hebrews,3.104. This was "to prefer the handmaid before the mistress."
2. L.Coxe,The arte of rhetorique,1532,sig. Aiiia.
3. cf.Master Bezaes sermons upon the three first chapters of the Canticle of Canticles,Oxford,1587.
4. Hyperius, Practis of preaching,22a; Hemmingsen,The preacher, 15b.

profitable points of doctrine and then apply these in plain and simple speech.(1) Parker fails to take enough account of other influences on Perkins besides Calvin when he suggests that this is a simplification of Calvin's homily form of sermon.(2) Not only are doctrines and uses found in earlier puritan preachers, but remarkably similar advice is given by Ursinus.(3) There is also some ramist influence,(4) though Perkins worked with original insight using diverse materials to produce a manual more rigorously biblical than its continental precursors.(5) Unlike Ramus, he treated preaching as a separate art;(6) nor need his emphasis on 'use' be called ramist,(7) because it went back at least to Musculus.(8) Pleas for practical application were general,(9) as was stress on plainness and simplicity.(10)

His order corresponded to current psychological theory. The will was influenced by way of reason, therefore doctrine was treated before use. Application, however, was essential, because by this means the general promises of scripture were transformed into promises as individual as if one's name had

1. Prophetica,2.673.
2. Parker, Oracles of God,125.
3. Ursinus, Summe of religion,45, find the proper sense, declare the order and coherence of doctrine,and apply it.
4. Miller, New England mind,339.
5. Ibid,338.
6. Prophetica, To the faithful ministers of the gospel; Howell, Logic and rhetoric,207.
7. Miller,op.cit.339
8. Mitchell,English pulpit oratory,119;cf.Greenham,Works,160.
9. Hyperius, Practis of preaching,130a.
10. Martyr, Commonplaces,4.1.43.

been written in the text.(1) This was one of the reasons why puritans were insistent on preachers in every parish. Readers could not apply their words in the same way.

Perkins followed Hemmingsen in discussing how doctrine should be applied to different kinds of audience(2) He believed that the foundation of application was to know whether a passage was law or gospel,(3) which was a more simple classification than Hyperius' (4) and sufficient to bring men to their senses and to their God, judging by the frequency with which he referred to it in connection with each type of audience.(5)

He was realist enough to know the ease with which preachers' words passed over their hearers' heads, particularly if they were simple and ignorant. For the latter, he advised a mixture of reasoning and reproof to arouse their quiescent consciences. If there was a response, they should be further instructed by catechising, for "a sermon to such persons is like a great loaf set before a child."(6) Without learning the catechism, "it is impossible to learn religion,"(7) but until this stage was passed, it was useless trying to inculcate doctrines like the freedom of the will.(8)

Once a modicum of doctrinal knowledge had been instilled and understood, the law was to be preached until the hearers

1. Jude,3.499; Galatians,2.254; Greenham, Works,440.
2. Hemmingsen, The preacher,17a.
3. Prophetica,2.664. Martyr,Commentaries,1a,makes this distinction.
4. Hyperius, Practis of preaching,59a ff.
5. Prophetica,2.664-8. This distinction between law and gospel corresponded to the distinction between flesh and spirit.
6. Galatians,2.295;cf.Herbert, Priest to temple,cap.21.
7. Hebrews,3.96.
8. Prophetica,2.665-6.

were thoroughly humbled for their sins. Ministers had to be capable of applying the law far enough to induce humility, without either driving to desperation, or applying the comforts of the gospel too soon for men's spiritual sores to have been thoroughly cleansed.(1) Those that believed were to be instructed about justification, sanctification and the law without the curse, so that they realised their duty to bring forth fruits of new obedience. Sin did not forsake the saints, because they were still partly flesh. The law, therefore, needed to be preached to them to purge away their corruptions, for

> "as a father doth oftentimes set his iron rods that are appointed for the servants, before the eyes of his sons, that they may be frayed: so the meditation of the curse is to be stirred up very often in the faithful themselves, lest they should abuse the mercy of God to licentious living." (2)

His suggested treatment for those who had fallen into despair was strenuous, though he believed only this brought true comfort.(3) Firstly, they should be asked whether they were under law or grace, and if an affirmative reply was given, they were to be comforted with the assurance that their sin was pardonable, that the gospel promises excluded no man, that the desire to believe was faith and that God worked by contrary means. Secondly, they must stir up grace in themselves "against carnal sense and human hope. And that they may

1. Prophetica,2.666-7; Calling of ministry,3.436.
2. Prophetica,2.667; Ursinus, Summe of religion,55-6; Hemmingsen, The preacher,59a-64a.
3. Prophetica,2.667-8.

perform these things, they must be very earnestly beaten upon, and those that are unwilling must in a manner be constrained."(1) The difference from Herbert was striking. The latter advised diving into "the boundless ocean of Gods love."(2)

Individual treatment according to spiritual stature was sensible, but such advice would be useless in a normal congregation, which was mixed, and where both law and gospel needed to be preached. Perkins excelled in happily combining the two, for according to Fuller, he so cunningly interweaved comforts and terrors "so one and the same sermon of his, seemed all law, and all gospel,...as the different necessities of people apprehended it."(3)

Four other kinds of application were found within this broad framework of law and gospel--doctrine, redargation, correction and instruction,(4) applications which were found within every passage of scripture.(5) Perkins insisted that application should always be according to place, time and person. It was pointless for ministers to "lay open the nakedness of the court in the country."(6) In redargation, or confutation, error must first be thoroughly understood and

1. Prophetica,2.668.
2. Herbert, Priest to temple,cap.15.
3. Fuller, Abel redivivus,434.
4. Prophetica,2.668;cf.Hemmingsen, The preacher,53a.-65b; Hyperius, Practis of preaching,55a-b, for similar, but more detailed use of 2 Timothy 3.16.
5. Prophetica,2.669. Perkins quoted Illyricus' enormous Clavis scripturae to demonstrate this.
6. Calling of ministry,3.456.

be something which actually troubled the church. Waking sleeping heretical dogs was pointless.(1) Nor was there any sense in using such a multitude of applications, that the congregation failed to gain a clear view of divine truth. Only choice and apposite applications were needed.(3)

The main emphasis of Prophetica was on sermon preparation. If material was right, delivery would take care of itself.(3) Any artificial aids to memory were rejected, as was writing out a sermon word for word. It was enough to note down the main points, with proofs, applications and illustrations, all of which was to be delivered spontaneously, without thought for the words.(4) Great care was to be taken to ensure that nothing distracted men's attention from the message God delivered through the minister, whether amusing stories,(5) or even excessive quotation of biblical texts. (6) Speech was to be spiritual in the highest sense of the word and reinforced by a sanctified life. Mere oratory was valueless.

Perkins' treatment of the prophetic side of the ministry contained valuable suggestions. Such careful preparation to speak in Christ's stead could not be allowed to fall flat

1. Prophetica,2.668.
2. Ibid,2.669.
3. Ibid,2.672,said nothing about elocution, except to mention the need for audibility, and to allow fervency and vehemency in exhortation;cf.Resolution,sig.Fviib, "Any man the more true and honest he thinks his matter, the more desirous he is to speak plainly to the understanding of all."
4. Prophetica,2.670.
5. Ibid,2.671;cf.Herbert,Priest to temple,cap.7, who allowed the telling of stories to dull country folk.
6. Combat of Christ and devil,3.393.

because the hearers were unprepared. To hear the Word required as much preparation as to receive the Lord's Supper. Ecclesiastical records reveal riotous behaviour at services.(1) Perkins, too, complained of those who "lie snorting and sleeping upon mens elbows at sermons, and in time of prayer to sit unreverently with their heads covered."(2) To counter such popular lightness of spirit, he set out the requirements for profitable hearing of the Word,(3) stressing that presumption was to be put aside and submission made to God's deputies. Once they had this attitude, men were to labour to be affected by the sermon, to meditate on it, and to cut off their corrupt judgements and inordinate affections. Certainly not all could profit equally, but Perkins strongly suspected that there was much idle spiritual capacity in any congregation. Where men did not so labour to profit from sermons it was a likely sign of a reprobate sense.

> "If thou shouldest see the tokens of plague upon thee, thou wouldest shiver and quake at them, although they may make but an end of this life. And therefore if thou seest these tokens upon thee, which are able to carry thee to hell, how much more oughtest thou to tremble?" (4)

Though Perkins had taught that it was the task of ministers to represent men before God, as well as God before men (5) he

1. J.S.Purvis,Tudor parish documents,Cambridge,1948,86,90.
2. Revelation,3.346.
3. Cases of conscience,2.70-2;cf. Smith,Sermons,298 ff.
4. Appendix three,Sermon two; Calling of ministry,3.439.
5. Prophetica,2.646.

said very little about the priestly side of the ministry. He gave the conceiving of prayer a skimpy chapter.(1) As the second part of prophesying, it should have had far more generous treatment, for prayer, was "one of the most principal parts of Gods worship."(2) He remedied this in his later works, teaching set prayers did not limit the Holy Spirit, but were "a helping of the Spirit, which is weak in us, by a crutch to lean upon."(3) Preparation was permissible, indeed fit matter should be diligently searched for,(4) but Perkins 'preached' his prayers. He insisted that they be "orderly pronounced in public to the edifying of the people." (5) Only the ministers voice should be heard, there were to be no idle repetitions and the people were to assent by 'Amen' at the end.(6) These statements were criticisms of current practice and clearly show that the early Perkins was far from happy with the Prayer Book.

When he set aside its provisions so boldly, he was not simply exalting the part of the minister in worship at the congregation's expense. He genuinely believed that they shared fully in the minister's prayer, because he was their mouth before God. Fuller says that Perkins always used a set prayer before his sermon, for

1. Prophetica,2.672-3.
2. Sermon on mount,3.110; Idolatry of last times,1.707-12, put prayer last and hearing sermons first, in a list of four heads of worship.
3. Cases of conscience,2.67;cf. Sermon on mount,3.119-20.
4. Prophetica,2.673.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid,2.672.

> "he found this the most profitable way for his people. He would not that his soul should go to heaven alone, but in his prayers would have the company of the meanest of his congregation along with him." (1)

Other works on the minister's task were equally sketchy on the priestly side of the ministry.(2) Reaction against Rome was still too strong for a proper appreciation of this in theology and practice. Preaching had swallowed up other parts of worship and devotion, though there were signs of a more balanced attitude in Hooker and Andrewes.

His ability and experience as pastor and preacher enabled him to make use of an astonishing variety of sources which he drew together, simplified, clarified and related carefully to his understanding of the biblical message. Prophetica inspired many to "preach one Christ by Christ to the praise of Christ."(3) He, more than any other scholar, was responsible for the popularity of the plain style of preaching among puritans in old and New England.(4) Cambridge students who knew him were deeply influenced by the pastoral ideal he embodied.(5) This reputation, together with the quality of his treatises on the ministry, ensured that his standards of holiness, biblical preaching and deep pastoral concern left their mark on a large body of ministers, not only in England but also in Europe. These men might be

1. Fuller, Abel redivivus,434.
2. Herbert, Priest to temple,cap.6,is also brief, though he reflects changing attitudes in the English church.
3. Prophetica,2.673.
4. Miller, New England mind,335; B.M.Levy,Preaching in the first half century of New England,Hartford,1945,23-4; Mitchell, English pulpit oratory,99.
5. Ibid,103,109,285,for his influence on Cotton,Wilkins,Mede.

stern with sinners and demand high standards from their people, but this was because they were consumed by the desire to yield "to nothing, nor aim at anything, but which may be both to the will, and for the glory of him that sent them."(1)

1. Calling of ministry,3.460.

CHAPTER SIX THE GOLDEN CHAIN.

(i)

Perkins was insistent about the need for saving doctrine to come from the Lord's mouth, uncorrupted by human writings, or frailties in those who delivered it, so men could be sure that their salvation was all God's work and therefore completely reliable. This theocentric emphasis dominated his teaching on the origin and appropriation of salvation. He believed that his doctrine was both scriptural and supported by the best divines of all periods, (1) and made frequent references to their works, disputing issues they had cumulatively raised with an enthusiasm which is difficult for modern historians to understand.(2)

The problems of grace, free-will, predestination and reprobation were not solved by the reformers, but simply put in fresh light and given new life by being brought out of university lecture rooms into popular preaching and discussion. Hitherto, these disputes had only concerned scholars and not affected popular beliefs.(3) Learned and abstruse disputes might split universities, but they did not lead ordinary believers to question that justification was won

1. Predestination, To the reader.
2. Hill, Puritanism and revolution,217, speaks of Perkins' 'obsession' with justification.
3. H.Rondet, Gratia Christi,Paris,1948, gives a useful historical survey of the discussions on grace. P.Vignaux, Justification et prédestination au XIVe siècle,Paris,1934; G.Leff, Bradwardine and the Pelagians,Cambridge,1957; Gregory of Rimini,Manchester,1962, give valuable specialised accounts.

through use of the sacraments and the performance of good works.

Luther changed this with his conviction that justification was by faith alone, given freely by God independently of human preparation.(1) Renewed popular concern about the work of God resulted from this fundamental shift of soteriological emphasis. Questions about election and the significance of good works took on new urgency. To Roman Catholics such discussion seemed fraught with danger. Erasmus said as much, but was powerfully answered by Luther who contended that without knowledge of these deep issues the spiritual destiny of ordinary people was endangered.(2)

Many set themselves to deliver the common man from any danger of ignorance about grace and justification. By the end of the sixteenth century, the problem was to know where to start and whose opinion to follow. Considerable differences in protestant opinion had developed within and between confessional boundaries. Calvin's double decree of predestination was far from normative in reformed theology.(3) Bullinger did not teach it,(4) nor did the Thirty-nine Articles. In Geneva, Perrot disagreed with Beza's supralapsarian interpretation of Calvin's doctrine, while, in the Netherlands'

1. E.G.Rupp, The righteousness of God,1953,Part 2.
2. M.Luther, The bondage of the will,(ed.J.I.Packer and O.R. Johnston),1957,86-93.
3. George, Protestant mind,63,makes the incorrect assertion that it was not possible to develop Calvin's doctrine of predestination, except in the direction of free-will. No account is taken of supralapsarian theology.
4. P.Walser, Die Prädestination bei Heinrich Bullinger,Zurich, 1957, analyses this difference exhaustively.

reformed churches, Martinsen and Coornhert were modifying Calvin's thought in a more liberal direction.(1) Lutherans, too, often violently rejected the ideas associated with his name, or else sought to re-state the doctrine of election in such a manner as avoided the difficulties of the double decree.

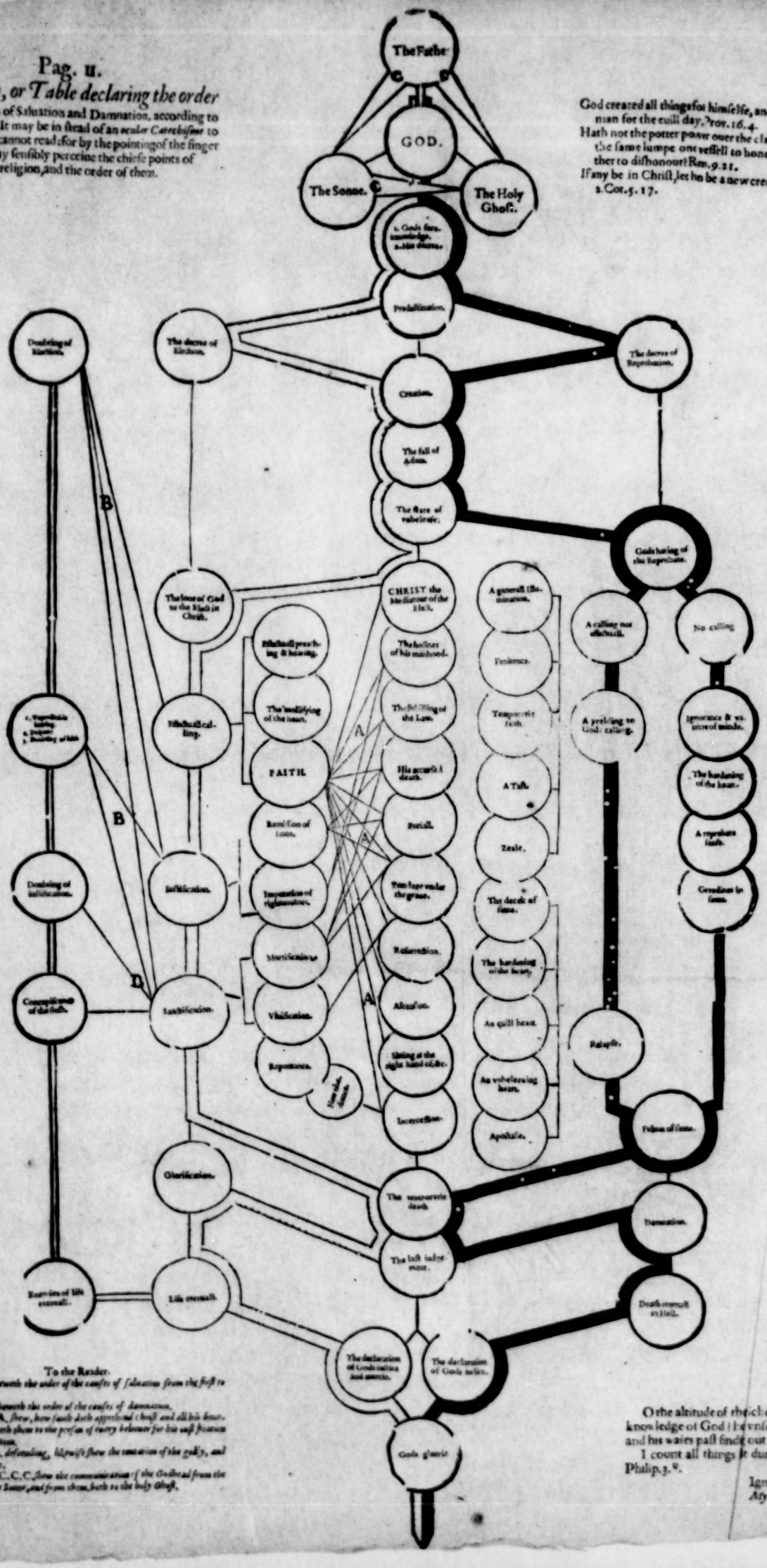
Perkins is a good example of the changes taking place in reformed theology at the end of the century. He was more than a theological thermometer whose popularisations registered the current atmosphere, but further developed changes of emphasis already present in reformed theology. He made the doctrine of predestination much more 'reasonable' than any of his predecessors, setting out the points he believed agreed "with the grounds of common reason."(2) By turning his natural man into a calvinist, he could undermine the arguments of those who argued against the doctrine on rational grounds. When natural man could rise so high, such critics merely exposed their sinful refusal to use their reason to honour God.

1. C.Bangs,"Arminius and the reformation," CH,1961,158-60.
2. Predestination,To the reader,where the following ten points are set out.
   i.God is always just,albeit men do not understand how.
   ii.God is not governed by second causes,nor dependent on them, but justly orders them,even when they work unjustly.
   iii.God works wisely,propounding a certain end,is ignorant of nothing,wills or decrees nothing he cannot effect, but disposes all to his glory,and therefore has decreed to do so.
   iv.God is not changed,and things that are,are not changed without his unchangeable decree.
   v.His secret and unsearchable judgements are to be honoured.
   vi.Nothing good can be done,unless God absolutely wills and works it. We do good only insofar as God works in us.
   vii.No evil can be avoided,unless God hinders it.
   viii.The will of God is not only known by the written word,but also by the event,which happens only because willed by God.
   ix.Men do not do by grace that which they are able to do,unless God makes them do it,as he has made them able to do it.
   x.The whole government of the world is to be ascribed to God as the author,not just a part of it.

A ſurvey, or Table declaring the order

of the cauſes of Saluation and Damnation, according to Gods word. It may be in ſtead of an *vnlay Catechiſme* to them which cannot read: for by the pointing of the finger they may ſenſibly perceiue the chiefe points of religion, and the order of them.

God created all things for himſelfe, and the wicked man for the euill day, Prov. 16. 4.
Hath not the potter power ouer the clay, to make of the ſame lumpe one veſſell to honour, and another to diſhonour? Rom. 9. 21.
If any be in Christ, let him be a new creature. 2. Cor. 5. 17.



To the Reader.

The white line ſheweth the order of the cauſes of ſaluation from the firſt to the laſt.
The blacke line ſheweth the order of the cauſes of damnation.
The lines A. A. A. ſhew, how euerie doth apprehend chriſt and all his benefits, and applieth them to the perſon of euery beleeuer for his owne ſaluation and ſatisfaction.
The lines B. B. B. defending, likewiſe ſhew the remiſſion of the guiltie, and their reuocation.
The waie-leaues C. C. C. ſhew the communication of the Godhead from the Father to the Sonne, and from them both to the holy Ghoſt.

O the altitude of the riches, both of the wiſedome and knowledge of God! how vnſearchable are his iudgements, and his waies paſt finding out? Rom. 11. 33.
I count all things but dung, that I may winne Chriſt. Philip. 3. 8.

Ignatius ſaying,
My loue is crucified.

VET A 2 c 28

Arminius' remark about this intellectual stratagem was cutting, but just. "Men do not fear to add to the scriptures, whatever they think proper, and are accustomed to attribute as much as possible to their own conceptions which they style natural ideas."(1)

Systematisation was greater than in Calvin,(2) or even in Beza.(3) Perkins produced a formidable chart in which the stages of predestination and reprobation were shown in detail. His arguments were also more closely defined on a number of points, partly because fresh problems had appeared in the thirty years after Calvin's death, partly because he wished to exclude new misunderstandings.

He made extensive use of the notion that to be predestined to the end, meant being predestined to the means. Zanchius (4) and other reformed theologians had used the idea to refute the objection that predestination removed any motive for action. Perkins not only used the phrase in this way, but also applied it to support his teaching on assurance, emphasising repeatedly that even a desire to use the means of grace could have no other inspiration than the motions of the

1. Arminius,Works,3.289.
2. J.Calvin,Concerning the eternal predestination of God,(ed. J.K.S.Reid),1961,13-4, shows that the systematisation commonly attributed to Calvin has little basis in fact;cf. E.A.Dowey,The knowledge of God in Calvin's theology,New York,1951,218-9.
3. T.Beza,The treasure of trueth,1581,sig.Cib,has a chart, but it is much simpler.
4. Cases of conscience,Appendix,1.435-8.

Holy Spirit. This led in turn to a stress on introspection and feeling which had not hitherto been associated with predestination and assurance.

Despite these important changes,(1) Perkins was convinced that he stood in the authentic reformed tradition.(2) He was equally certain that he was defending the orthodox doctrine of the Church of England.(3) His Armilla aurea, written in 1590 (and considerably expanded the following year) was concerned to demonstrate that

> "the cause of the execution of Gods predestination, is his mercy in Christ, in them which are saved; and in them which perish, the fall and corruption of man: yet so, as that the decree and eternal counsel of God, concerning them both, hath not any cause besides his will and pleasure." (4)

This fundamental truth had been attacked not only by semi-pelagian papists, as was to be expected, but by new pelagians who taught that God decreed according to his fore-knowledge of men's response and also by Lutherans who taught that God elected by mercy, but rejected those whom he foresaw would refuse his grace. (5)

One of the chief targets of the book was Baro, (6) who had once studied in Geneva, but had liberalised Calvin's

1. Wright,HLQ,1940,175, is not correct when he calls Perkins "an unswerving follower of the Genevan's (i.e.Calvin) predestinarian doctrine."
2. Predestination,To the reader.
3. Creed,1.293; Porter,Reformation and reaction,323 ff., shows that this was not entirely correct.
4. Armilla aurea,To the reader.
5. Ibid; N.Hemmingius,The epistle to the Ephesians,1580,58, puts forward 'lutheran' views. His influence on English theology needs study.
6. Heylyn, Aerius redivivus,341.

teaching on predestination. As one of the divinity professors at Cambridge, he was in a position to corrupt many student minds, though he was by no means the only liberalising influence in England. Hooker was equally important(1) and others like Overall, Andrewes, Harsnet also played an increasingly important part in creating doubts about the validity of extreme interpretations of predestination. Puritan uneasiness about these tendencies appeared as early as 1581, when Chaderton unsuccessfully attacked Baro,(2) but the cup of their wrath did not overflow until Barrett, a disciple of Baro's, preached a sermon in which he not only attacked Calvin, Martyr and Zanchius, but also claimed that a man could be more sure of the truth of the Creed, than of his own salvation.

The puritan party reacted sharply, evidently feeling that the time had come for a stand, lest "the whole body of popery should by little and little break in upon us."(3) The resulting controversies over grace and predestination were not just a donnish Cambridge squabble; they were markedly similar to disputes in the Netherlands. Nor were quarrels on this subject confined to protestants. Roman Catholics were divided just as bitterly.(4) Perkins' part in the

1. Hooker, Ecclesiastical polity, 5. Appendix One, 2.490 ff.
2. Dillingham, Chaderton, 6.
3. Trinity College MSS, B/14/9, 185, quoted Porter, Reformation and reaction, 376; cf. Galatians, 2.316, "we are taught by all means to maintain the purity of sound religion, whatsoever befall us. And for this cause we are to resist and withstand every erronious opinion that shall be broached."
4. Rondet, Gratia Christi, 287-308; Brodrick, Bellarmine, 2.1-69, discusses disputes contemporaneous with those at Cambridge.

Cambridge controversies is obscure, though he continued to write on the subject, apparently believing that predestinarian truth needed further explanation and defence.(1) His reputation as a reformed theologian was such that Arminius considered De predestinatione, worthy of a detailed refutation, though unfortunately Perkins died before he had an opportunity to reply to Arminius' penetrating criticisms.

(ii)

Perkins' writings on predestination and grace were the first substantial and important treatment produced by an English scholar since the reformation. Previous writers had briefly discussed the subject,(2) but generally English opinion was content to follow Calvin, Martyr, Bullinger and Beza. In addition to treating the subject historically, systematically and controversially, Perkins gave predestination a much more important place in his theology than contemporaries or his predecessors. Greenham, for instance, hardly mentioned it, nor did Ursinus give it such prominence. This change of emphasis was partly due to different controversial concerns,(3) but even more to his concern with theological foundations and interest in problems of conscience. It was not, however, the centre of his thought. His

1. De predestinatione,1598; A treatise of Gods free-grace and mans free-will,1602.
2. Bradford,Works,1.307-18, is one of the earliest treatments.
3. Martyr, for instance, spent more time discussing the sacraments, than predestination.

commentaries make it clear that several great themes dominated his thinking,(assurance, predestination, scripture, casuistry). To attempt to relate his thinking to a single foundation credits him with more logical consistency than he deserves.

Calvin, in his Institutes, had only discussed predestination after treating justification. Perkins, in contrast, placed justification within the framework of God's decree, a change of method and perspective initiated by Beza, which gave predestination much greater importance than it had in Calvin's explanation of God's nature and revelation.

His nature, according to Perkins, was in essence simple. (1) Speculation about the mysteries of God's being was profitless, because "the ways and judgements of God are a gulf, into which the more we search, the more we plunge ourselves."(2) Theological distinctions about God's nature and actions did not necessarily exist in his being, but they clarified human thinking.(3) They were deduced from God's revelation and works, on the basis of which Perkins asserted that God's will "is the most absolute, supreme, and sovereign cause of all things that are."(4) Failure to carry out careful analysis of this statement was probably inseparable from Perkins' laudable desire to simplify and popularise, but he did not explain clearly why will was the primary datum of divine psychology.

1. Armilla aurea,1.11.
2. Galatians,2.248.
3. Armilla aurea,1.105; Creed,1.281.
4. Creed,1.278,where it was said will ruled justice and reason; cf.Gods free grace,1.724,knowledge follows will.Perkins was not fully clear on this in Armilla aurea,1.12,where he listed the attributes as wisdom,will,omnipotence.

Here, and in other contexts, he gave Arminius just cause for complaint about his "obscure and ill-adjusted phraseology." (1)

Yet if God's will was all-powerful, it was not "an unchained force."(2) Improper conclusions must not be drawn from Perkins' insistence that good was good because it was willed by God, not because it was Good,(3) or his assertion that God can "do more, than he either doth or will do."(4) He was not deifying arbitrary power,(5) but was anxious to make clear that God was not limited by human systems, or dependent on human responses. There were some things that God could not do, (6) and Perkins' use of the thoroughly medieval distinction between ordained and absolute power (7) safeguarded him partially against the charge that the virtues of reasonableness and justice could not be predicated of his deity. For all practical purposes men were to concern themselves with God's ordained power, that is with the order of creation and salvation.(8) God's absolute will (or the will of his good pleasure) was hidden and was not the rule of

1. Arminius,Works,3.365.
2. Miller, Marrow,250.
3. Ibid; Jude,3.516.
4. Armilla aurea,1.13.
5. Miller,Marrow,250,claims that the virtues of reasonableness and justice,as men understood them,could not be predicated of the calvinist God.
6. Armilla aurea,1.13. He could not lie,deny his Word,make truth false,or not beget the Son.Cf.Roman Catechism,23.
7. Armilla aurea,1.13;cf.H.Zanchius,The doctrine of absolute predestination,(ed.A.Toplady),1825,207,for the same distinction.
8. Hebrews,3.26,where Perkins makes this clear,but still safeguards God's freedom, by a negative insistence on his absolute power.

action or faith, but was good and perfect.(1) There was no difference in the wills to give the believer any anxiety (2) and even evil, which was against God's will, "cometh not to pass without his will, God willing the being of that which he willeth not to effect."(3) All things, therefore, were in God's hands and the secret of his purpose had been revealed in Christ.

His justice was revealed by his condemnation of the reprobate, his mercy by his salvation of the elect. So far as his counsel affected men it was called predestination, "by the which he ordained all men to a certain and everlasting estate: that is, either to salvation or condemnation, for his own glory."(4) To drive home the lesson that the decree of God depended entirely on his will,(5) Perkins taught that it preceded the existence of the world. Creation and fall were simply means to execute the decree, not its pre-suppositions as Arminius taught when he claimed that Perkins had reversed the order of the decrees.(6) The latter, however, believed that if God was first cause, his action must precede second causes. He was robbed of his glory if his will depended on creatures, and to take this position was "to set the creature in the throne of almighty God the creator, against the order of nature, and of all causes."(7) It did not occur to Perkins

1. Gods free grace,1.724.
2. Predestination,2.609.
3. Jude,3.516.
4. Armilla aurea,1.16; Creed,1.278.
5. Ibid,1.15; Greenham,Works,501, said that the cause of God's predestination was love;cf.Ursinus,Summe of religion,313-24.
6. Arminius, Works,3.331.
7. Predestination,2.627.

that God might have willed to work that way.(1)

Though God's action was unitary and beyond temporal distinctions, Perkins suggested the following sequence of actions in God's decree, a statement which had a scotist flavour, though it is uncertain whether this came from Perkins' own extensive reading in the schoolmen, or through some other reformed divine.

> "First of all, there is a foreknowledge, or .... a knowledge of beholding, whereby God beholdeth and seeth what is possible to be, and what not: then followeth the decree either of Gods operation, or of his voluntary permission, and consequently of the event of the thing. And this decree being once laid down, the definitive foreknowledge is conceived, whereby it is known what shall come to pass infallibly." (2)

If this was true and the future happened necessarily,(3) how did he escape the conclusion that his teaching turned men into puppets dancing on the strings of necessity? He solved the problem to his own satisfaction by his explanation of evil, by distinguishing between divine will and permission,and by defining human freedom in a manner which harmonised with his doctrine of God.

Sin was defined as a privation of being. It was "not properly a thing, action, or being, but a defect only"(4) which had no existence "out of the understanding."(5) Hence if it was only a defect in existence, it could not be 'caused'

1. Arminius,Works,3.479-80,suggested that this was God's choice.
2. Predestination,2.628; cf.Armilla aurea,1.15.
3. Revelation,3.210.
4. Predestination,2.617.
5. Ibid;cf.Martyr,Commonplaces,1.17.6; Ursinus, Summe of religion,66, for a similar account of sin.

by God. Perkins shuffled the cards in his own favour, because he did not use this account of sin consistently. Satan was far more than a force in the understanding, as Perkins' description of the fall made plain.

Adam had been created perfect, but mutable (1) with power to persevere in goodness, if he willed. God, however, had willed not to confer the grace to enable him to resist the promptings of an already fallen Satan.(2) God had not tied his Spirit to any place or condition of men to show that, while men could fall of themselves, "they could not stand, much less rise again: and that therefore that they should wholly depend on Gods mercy."(3)

To avoid the obvious conclusion that God was responsible for the fall, at second remove, because he had withdrawn his aid and sent Satan, Perkins introduced the distinction between will and permission. He illustrated his point with a painfully weak analogy, likening God to the owner of a dilapidated house who knew that it would collapse if it was not propped. Perkins believed that failure to prop the house did not make the owner actually responsible for the fall of the house. The owner had permitted it to collapse, but it had not been done by his agency. Similarly, it was Satan who was the agent of the fall, though he had acted only within the framework of God's permission.(4)

1. Armilla aurea,1.18.
2. Predestination,2.614.
3. Ibid,2.611; Gods free grace,1.728.
4. Predestination,2.617-8.

The analogy did not bear the weight Perkins imposed on it. No one in his senses would blame the house for collapsing and punish it as Adam had been punished. Arminius saw the weakness of the analogy and said correctly that if God was the energetic cause of actions which could not be committed without sin, he was logically the cause of sin.(1) Perkins' argument cannot be said to have broken down. He did not even succeed in establishing it. Nor was he being consistent, for he laid down elsewhere that the cause of a cause is the cause of all things thereby caused.(2) He was dimly aware of the weakness of his argument and attempted to salvage the justice of God by teaching that his freedom from guilt was 'miraculous.'(3) It was not logically possible to call the fall a happy fault,(4) permitted to make possible the work of Christ, and still meaningfully claim that the whole responsibility rested on Adam.(5)

His definition of freedom and necessity did a little to rescue his argument that Adam had chosen freely, yet had no alternative but to act as he did. Perkins drew a distinction between necessity and compulsion. Liberty and compulsion were incompatible, liberty and necessity were not. Necessity of compulsion (or coaction) was not consistent with liberty of choice, but necessity of infallibility (or immutability)

1. Arminius, Works, 3.404; cf. Ibid, 451, where he stated that he preferred an idle God, to one who caused sin.
2. Creed, 1.291.
3. Armilla aurea, 1.19.
4. Predestination, 2.606.
5. Creed, 1.288.

established contingency and the liberty of second causes.(1) God himself was subject to the second type of necessity;(2) likewise Adam had sinned with the full consent of his will, even though he had no alternative.

Few people in the sixteenth century questioned the existence of the inheritance of guilt left by Adam, though some found it puzzling how one man's action had such drastic consequences for his descendants. Perkins came to their aid with another bad illustration, suggesting that Adam was a 'public man' whose actions were binding on those whom he represented, just as the decisions of an M.P. were binding on his shire.(3) He forgot that M.P.s were elected, which could not be said of Adam. There were two possible ways in which his guilt was transmitted,(4) either by infection from the body,(5) or by God forsaking infants at the moment their souls were infused, though Perkins did not think this issue was important. His interest was in the remedy for sin.

Original sin corrupted every faculty, but not the substance of human nature. If this had been affected, Christ could not have taken human nature, nor could men be immortal. The will retained limited power in human affairs,(6) but however virtuous men's actions were, they were no better than

1. Predestination,2.619. Luther,Bondage of the will,102,used the same scholastic distinction;cf.Zanchius,Confession,39.
2. Gods free grace,1.722-3,God could not avoid being just.
3. Creed,1.161.
4. Armilla aurea,1.20.
5. cf.Ursinus,Summe of religion,72-3.
6. Gods free grace,1.727-9,for the extent of this.

sins in God's sight, unless regeneration had occurred.(1) They sinned with the full consent of their wills and made Adam's deed their own. Consequently, their affections and judgements were so disordered that capacity for spiritual things had been altogether lost.(2) More than serious sickness was involved. Sacramental assistance could do nothing, because men were dead to God.

> "No persuasion offered to the mind, nor good desires to the will, are of any moment, till the image of God standing in holiness, which is a conformity with the will of God, and the very soul of our souls, begin to be restored." (3)

This came entirely from God who, however, offered grace in such a way that men chose with the full consent of their will.(4) Perkins' analogy of offering grass to a hungry sheep leaves some doubt whether such a response was human, though he attempted to correct this impression by his teaching about the means of grace.

Unlike Roman Catholics,(5) Perkins did not give baptism any role in the restoration of the image of God. It neither marked the beginning of eternal life, removed the power of original sin, nor incorporated into the body of Christ, so that the baptised was a Christian, able, with the help of the Holy Spirit, to keep the law of God. He agreed that it conferred membership of the visible church, but this was valueless without a living relation to Christ. Men must

1. Galatians,2.164.
2. Sermon on mount,3.172.
3. Gods free grace,1.734; Sermon on mount,3.189.
4. Predestination,2.619.
5. Roman Catechism,173.

seek to be incorporated "into Christ by faith and true repentance,"(1) because baptism had no effect apart from faith.(2) This was a more negative attitude than that taken by earlier reformed theologians,(3) and reflects Perkins' anxiety to re-define any doctrine which showed the faintest sign of threatening divine sovereignty in salvation.

His doctrine of baptism must be seen in relation to his teaching on the covenant and the means of grace it made available, which formed an important part of his defence against the charge that he taught a Stoic doctrine, in which men were treated like sticks and stones. God's condescension to human frailty was shown in his provision of means of grace within the visible church. To complain that it was pointless performing religious actions, because one was either elected, or reprobate, was nonsensical. Election did not take place in a volitional vacuum. It was inseparably related to use of the means of grace.(4) If one was

1. Hebrews,3.49.
2. Galatians,2.255.
3. L.B.Schrenk,The presbyterian doctrine of children in the covenant,New Haven,1940,1-33; E.Grislis,"Calvin's doctrine of baptism,"CH,1962,for the more positive role given the sacrament by Calvin;cf.Martyr,Commonplaces,4.8.15;Musculus, Commonplaces,290a,taught that children shared both the sign and the grace of the covenant.
4. Hebrews,3.26;cf.Resolution,sigs,Cib,Civa,where Perkins points out that his teaching on God's ability to work without means was to safeguard God's liberty. Beza,A brief and pithie summe,1589,6,"God in ordaining that which ought to come,ordaineth also the means by the which it pleaseth him that such things should come to pass."

elected to the end of salvation, one was also elected to the means.(1) Vocation, justification, sanctification were milestones on the road to glorification,(2) sure signs to the pilgrim that he was on the right road. If a man was not using these, it was likely that he was reprobate. If, on the other hand, he was using them, it was virtually certain that he was elect, for only the elect could use them. Therefore "to will to be regenerate, is the effect and testimony of regeneration begun."(3) Perkins' works are therefore full of strenuous exhortations to labour with the means of grace to make election sure.

Pelagianism was not being re-introduced through a back door. Only the elect would respond to such appeals and the initiative of God remained. To clarify this, Perkins introduced a distinction between first and second grace which was not in earlier reformed theology. The first created righteousness without any co-operation of the human will, but once men were regenerate, they could partly co-operate with God, even though grace remained "the principal agent, and will but the instrument of grace."(4)

With this point clearly made, Perkins could speak of an inward and powerful use of baptism which made men members of Christ.(5) Only then did its full significance become

1. Armilla aurea,1.24; Creed,1.283; Greenham, Works,214-6; Ursinus, Summe of religion,388,423-4; Zanchius, Confession, 16, all make the same point about being elected to both means and to end.
2. Creed,1.283; Galatians,2.177, called the order a golden chain.
3. Gods free grace,1.734; Greenham,Works,299-300, agreed that without grace, the means were valueless.
4. Galatians,2.178; Gods free grace,1.738.
5. Hebrews,3.49.

apparent. Inward and outward washing joined when the elect used the means; divine sovereignty and human freedom were reconciled. By this mode of argument, he attempted to base salvation on foundations that owed nothing to men. Theories which introduced any element of human decision or co-operation detracted from the sovereignty of God's will, undermined the basis for assurance and made it impossible to believe that "the salvation of them that believe, is more sure than the whole frame of heaven and earth: because it is founded in the vocation of God, which is without repentance."(1)

(iii)

Emphasis of the sovereignty of God did not imply that Christ's role in salvation was an afterthought. As Son, he predestined with the other persons of the Trinity, as Mediator he was himself predestined.(2) The foundation of the decree was Christ, called from eternity to mediate, "that in him all those which should be saved, might be chosen."(3) Unfortunately, Perkins shared the weakness of most reformed theologians and sometimes spoke of the decree in terms which took little account of the work of Christ.(4) If predestination was a glass in which men beheld the majesty of God,(5) it should

1. Galatians,2.176.
2. Armilla aurea,1.24.
3. Ibid.
4. J.K.S.Reid,"The office of Christ in predestination,"SJT, 1948,172-3,suggests that this stemmed from Calvin. Bullinger was more satisfactory in this and insisted clearly that God was as he had given himself in Christ. Walser, Prädestination bei Bullinger,55.
5. Creed,1.291.

also have aroused their love, but Perkins did not mention this aspect of the decree.

His interpretation of the atonement suggests that he saw it in light of the decree, rather than vice versa. Rejection of Christ by men would have meant that Satan was stronger than God.(1) Such an explanation seemed, to Perkins, little short of blasphemous. Yet he knew all too well that many appeared to reject Christ. These awkward contradictions were resolved by his insistence that Christ had not died for all men, but only for the elect. 'All' men meant, therefore, all kinds of men, because God did not elect only those with certain spiritual qualifications.(2) In this way, Perkins reconciled predestination and the universality of the biblical promises. It was pointless to object that if Christ did not save all men, he could not judge all men.(3) Perkins would have replied that Christ's work simply had the purpose of leaving them without excuse. Revelation of love, minus justice, would have been incomplete.

If Christ was the foundation of election and the covenant was the means of executing this decree, further definition was needed before the golden chain of salvation was so clearly seen that men could use it to fasten themselves to divine mercy. There were degrees in this execution, based

1. Predestination,2.628.
2. Ibid,2.623; Hemmingius, Ephesians,59, took the natural sense of 'all'.
3. Arminius, Works,3.456.

on the love of God whereby he "doth freely love all such as are chosen in Christ Jesus, though in themselves altogether corrupt."(1) For those of the years of discretion, these degrees were effectual calling, justification, sanctification, and glorification.(2)

Men were called by Word and Spirit, their need for Christ being brought home by the preaching of the law, which bruised their hard hearts with its remorseless hammers. As gospel, the Word brought "that admirable union, or conjunction, which is the ingrafting of such as are to be saved, into Christ, and their growing up together with him."(3) 'Law' did not rouse anything more than legal contrition. Repentance followed laying hold of Christ.(4) It is important to notice that Perkins spoke of mystical union before faith, in order to show that faith was the result of previous action of God and also to refute Roman Catholic charges that faith was without 'real' spiritual basis.(5) Once their personality was renewed, men were capable of faith, which in turn, further strengthened union with Christ.

Faith was the hand by which men received the benefits of Christ. It was far more than knowledge of, and assent to doctrinal propositions (though it included these), but it

1. Armilla aurea,1.76.
2. Ibid,1.77.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid,1.84-5; Calvin,Institutes,3.3.6.
5. Bishop, Reformation,1.50, said that men justified by faith alone were merely whited sepulchres full of iniquity.

went beyond them, far exceeding the capacities of reason, because its object was God in Christ.(1) Knowledge of the gospel, hope of pardon, hunger and thirst for grace, approach to God and a Spirit-given conviction that the promises of the gospel applied, even before there was any experience of God's mercies, were all included in this gift.(2) Obedience to the Word was then followed by experience of comfort as mystical union grew more firm.(3)

Supported by this careful definition of faith, Perkins' discussion of justification was secure against charges that justification by faith alone could not possibly save a man. Mystical union ensured a real participation in Christ's saving work of obedience and satisfaction. At first sight, it would seem to be unnecessary to discuss remission of sins and imputation of Christ's righteousness if union with Christ was already established. In fact they were an essential part of reformed teaching, and provided a legal judgement which could be accepted on the basis of the Word before there was any feeling to assure the believer that he was one with Christ.

Christian faith was far more than a desperate reliance on theological propositions. God conferred on the predestinate the further gift of adoption, giving them thereby another 'status symbol' to help them become sons of God.(4) This linked justification and sanctification, the third degree of the

1. Treatise tending,1.362.
2. Armilla aurea,1.79-80.
3. Ibid,1.80; Schmidt,ARG,1951,216,is not correct when he claims that, for Perkins, faith depended on its fruits.
4. Armilla aurea,1.82.

declaration of God's love, by which "such as believe, being delivered from the tyranny of sin, are by little and little renewed in holiness and righteousness."(1)

Through their union with Christ, believers shared in his death and burial which caused their sin "to die and consume, as it were in a grave."(2) But it was not only the virtue of his death which changed believers. They also shared in his resurrection. Purpose to live according to God's will and acknowledgement of the truth of his Word, led in turn to right ordering of actions and yielded such fruits as hope, contempt for the world, zeal for God's glory and exceeding great joy in the Spirit.(3)

Bishop misunderstood the whole drift of Perkins' thought when, in spite of these unequivocally ethical emphases intimately related to justification, he asserted that faith unformed by charity could never justify.(4) Perkins made it abundantly clear that "faith in the heart is a light and works are the shining of this light,"(5) for as faith "receives Christ into our hearts, so love opens the heart, and pours out praise and thanks to God, and all manner of goodness to men."(6) When Perkins contended for justification by faith

1. Armilla aurea,1.83; Reformed catholike,1.571,pointed out that though justification and sanctification were distinguished to exclude Roman Catholic errors, they occurred together.
2. Armilla aurea,1.83.
3. Ibid,1.84. Perkins went on to discuss the Christian's warfare.
4. Bishop, Reformation,1.64.
5. Galatians,2.174-5.
6. Ibid,2.210; Greenham,Works,423,"We are not to justify ourselves before God only by faith,but we must also justify ourselves by good works before men."It is difficult to understand how Miller,Marrow,274,can ignore this aspect of reformed theology and see in covenant theology "the establishment of a code of ethics and of moral obligation."

alone, he was fighting for the recognition that salvation was entirely the work of God, but neither he nor other reformed theologians were foolish enough to separate justification from other biblical emphases, like union with Christ, and turn it into a legal fiction as their Roman Catholic opponents claimed.

Glorification was the climax of the declaration of God's love and involved "the perfect transforming of the saints into the image of the Son of God."(1) Life was therefore to be lived in light of this end and the values of earth put in their properly subordinate place. Unfortunately many would, according to Perkins, never know this final bliss. They had been predestined to show God's justice.

None disputed that some would finally perish. Controversy centred on their mode of transport, rather than on their destination. Though Perkins followed Calvin in teaching that some were reprobate from the beginning,(2) this was by no means the only opinion current among protestants. Some suggested that reprobation was based on prevision of impenitence,(3) others held that God had simply passed by already fallen sinners and left them to their fate.(4) Usually, these explanations were combined with the idea that grace was offered to all men and that they were responsible for their own destiny.

1. Armilla aurea,1.92.
2. Calvin,Institutes,3.22.11.
3. Hemmingius,Ephesians,65; Hooker,Ecclesiastical polity,2.524.
4. Martyr,Commonplaces,3.1.15.

to greater or less degree. To Perkins, this teaching appeared a school of universal atheism which reduced grace to nature and pulled down the fences of the church,(1) though his attempts to refute it were as unsatisfactory as his polemic against Rome,and Arminius frequently had just cause to take Perkins to task for his mis-statements.(2)

Reprobation was defined as that part of predestination whereby God "according to the most free and just purpose of his will, hath determined to reject certain men unto eternal destruction, and misery, and that to the praise of his justice."(3) This did not mean some men had been specifically created for damnation. The decree of reprobation was no more absolute than election, but had a foundation (the fall of Adam) and means of execution(sin). Men were only passed by or rejected as they were sinners.(4) All the defects of his earlier discussion of the fall re-appeared in his explanation of reprobation. Even if the reprobate sinned freely, it is impossible to agree with Perkins that "all the fault and desert of condemnation remaineth in the men only."(5) God's power had been exalted at the expense of his mercy, when Perkins attempted to justify his position by saying that

1. Predestination,2.639; Creed,1.295.
2. Arminius, Works,3.523-4.
3. Armilla aurea,1.105.
4. Predestination,2.612-3,claimed the support of fathers like Jerome,Lombard,Aquinas,Gregory of Rimini,Pierre d'Ailly for this. His terms for the act of reprobation are variable--'pass by', 'refuse', 'reject', and do not follow any chronological order. Sometimes different words are used in the same context. Jude,3.516,has both 'reject' and 'pass by'.
5. Armilla aurea,1.105.

> "if it be in the power and liberty of a man to kill an ox or a sheep for his use,...then much more without injustice may it be in the will and liberty of the creator to refuse and forsake his creature for his glory."(1)

Though he claimed to have quarried his arguments from the Bible, there was no solid biblical foundation for the correlation of the decrees. Martyr who saw this, said that the Bible did not speak of predestination to damnation,(2) but though Perkins knew Martyr's work well, he followed the wrong emphasis of Calvin and laid himself open to the charge of Arminius that he had made God the author of sin.(3)

Perkins' treatment of reprobation concluded with a discussion of its different manifestations. Some went to hell by the express route, others managed to acquire a veneer of religion, though this soon peeled off in the heat of secret sin and external difficulty. Judgement began in this life with the horrors of conscience which he believed gnawed impenitent hearts. "The halter is already about their necks, and there remains nothing but the turning of the ladder."(4) Once they died, they experienced the separation of body and soul and the full apprehension of God's judgement.(5)

Repugnant though this doctrine may seem, Perkins believed that it provided the best explanation of a hard world. Many

1. Creed,1.287.
2. Martyr,Commonplaces,3.1.9.
3. Arminius, Works,3.394.
4. Galatians,2.233.
5. Armilla aurea,1.112.

never came to saving faith, more never heard the gospel or

> "are born leprous,blind,foolish,very poor,unmeet for this temporary felicity; neither do they ever attain unto it..many die in their infancy, and many are foolish and mad all their life long,upon whom we cannot say that this universal grace is bestowed." (1)

Perkins believed that God directed all these harsh realities to a conclusion which, though they did not fully understand it in this world, was at least joyful for the elect. It was not an easy doctrine to accept, but it was the only one which did justice to the glory of God, in comparison with whom, "we are not so much worth, as a fly is in respect of us."(2) Therefore "we must with all submission strike our topsails," (3) presumably the better to be blown by the winds of the Spirit without the risk of capsizing.

The doctrine had a preparatory function and it was to be preached to bring men to Christ. This appears clearly in the 'uses' of the doctrine. It refuted those who said they could do nothing because they were reprobate anyway, and showed the fearful estate of those who failed to respondto the preaching of the gospel. Perkins lamented that "the more they are beaten with the hammer of Gods Word, the more dull, secure, and senseless they are."(4) Escape from the eternal consequences of this rejection was possible only

1. Predestination,2.629. This was an almost verbatim quotation from Martyr's Commonplaces,3.1.43, for once unacknowledged, which indicates that Perkins knew Martyr thoroughly, even if he did not follow all his conclusions.
2. Predestination,2.611.
3. Creed,1.287.
4. Creed,1.289.

when the Word and its ministers were obeyed implicitly.(1) Preaching reprobation was part of preaching the law. It did not justify despair about salvation, because none could know when they, or others, were reprobate. Hence Perkins frequently warned against any premature drafting of sheep from goats. According to the rule of love, men should believe the best even about the enemies of the church.(2) While the fate of the impenitent aroused wonder and gratitude in elect hearts for their deliverance from such an awful fate, the possibility of damnation could only be excluded by continued application of the means of grace. Satan deceived the very elect with his wiles and the reprobate could taste illumination, penitence, temporary faith, even fragments of the heavenly banquet, before their real estate became evident in sin and hardening of heart. Constant self-examination and effort was necessary to ensure that grace was genuine and not merely the shadow cast by a deluded conscience. As a result of this type of preaching and teaching, problems of assurance vexed many a would-be saint.

(iv)

Questions about election had caused problems of conscience

1. Creed,1.288-9.
2. Galatians,2.317; Creed,1.290.

before the reformation.(1) but popular protestant preaching sharpened these issues. Perkins taught that without a conviction that one was elect, one could not be certain of membership of the church.(2) Assurance was the right of every Christian and "the hinge upon which the gate of heaven turns."(3) There might be times when doubt triumphed over faith, but though the second grace could be lost temporarily, the first grace was given without repentance.(4) When grace could not be lost, men could live through difficulties without being cast down. "We are to make continual experiences, and observations of the love of God toward us, and to lay them all together, and to build a joyful conclusion thereupon."(5)

Not only had God given the certain promises of the Word for believers to rest upon; the sacraments also renewed their confidence in the covenant.(6) Baptism was a pledge of God's mercy and grace, a seal of repentance and a daily sermon to

1. W.Bonde, A devoute treatyse for them that ben tymorouse and fearfull in conscience,/c.1534/; The arte or crafte to live well,/c.1505/,liia,listed the following signs of predestination; adversity,hearing the Word with a good will,honour of God's servants,humility,pain at gossip,mercy to the poor, forgiving sin freely,desire to be better,frequent thought of the passion of Christ, Ibid,liv,said that desire to sleep in, or haunting taverns was a sign of damnation.
2. Creed,1.298.
3. Galatians,2.278; Miller,Marrow,252, is incorrect to say Calvin's teaching gave no basis for assurance.
4. Predestination,2.633-4.
5. Galatians,2.186.
6. True gain,1.661-2, pointed out that the covenant was the basis for certainty that God had really imputed Christ's work to the believer.

new obedience.(1) "When a man is in danger of the shipwreck of his soul," baptism was a plank on which to swim to safety,(2) assuring men that their sins were actually washed away and that the virtue of Christ's death was theirs. Likewise, the Lord's Supper sealed to Christians their continual nourishment by Christ.(3) This teaching was the teaching of the ancient church and was never declared heretical before Trent.(4)

When these external signs of divine favour were not sufficient to assure a man that he was a child of God, Perkins suggested calling two further witnesses-the Holy Spirit and the human spirit. The former was by far the more important and was most emphatically not a subjective criterion,(5) but corresponded with the Bible's testimony. Perkins attacked those who believed it came by an "extraordinary revelation, or enthusiasm." Rather it was given by an "application of the promises of the gospel in a practical syllogism,"(6) even when there was no feeling. "We must not go by sense, feeling, reason, but we must shut our eyes, and let faith keep our hearts close to the promises of God."(7)

1. Galatians,2.264; Ibid,2.258.
2. Cases of conscience, 2.80.
3. Ibid,2.81.
4. Problem,2.538-40; Bishop,Reformation,1.62, spoke of assurance as presumption, which was laid as "the very cornerstone of the protestants irreligion."
5. Bishop,Reformation,1.36;cf.Rondet,Gratia Christi,271,for the same criticism of the protestant teaching on assurance.
6. Creed,1.284.This was in the Word and applied by ministers.
7. Galatians,2.211;Greenham,Works,6,"the greatest faith is where there is least feeling."

Some lacked even the testimony of the Spirit. In such cases, Perkins warned against attempts to penetrate the secret counsels of God. These could only lead to despair, because God was, in himself, unknowable. Men should descend into their hearts, "to go up from ourselves, as it were by Jacobs ladder, to Gods eternal counsel."(1) Faith had certain inseparable attributes, one of which was sanctification. If the former appeared to be absent, but the latter was indisputably present, it was certain that faith was real, because the effect could not be present without the cause.

> "This is one of the chiefest uses of good works, that by them, not as by causes, as by effects of predestination and faith, both we, and also our neighbours are certified of our election, and salvation too."(2)

Calvin had not so used works to testify to election, (3) but had provided many of the bases from which others constructed this doctrine which, by the end of the century, was distinctively reformed. (4) Emphasis on predestination to good works, on the third use of the law, on the ethical fruits of justification and a growing interest in problems of conscience and assurance by the end of the sixteenth century all contributed to the changed role given to good works in later reformed theology. Other puritans,

1. Creed, 1.284; Beza, Pithie summe, 72. Zanchius, Confession, 17.
2. Case of conscience, 1.437. This was extracted from Zanchius. cf. Ursinus, Summe of religion, 837. This attitude was not only found in reformed orthodoxy, but appears also in Tyndale. D. B. Knox, The doctrine of faith, 1961, 15.
3. Niesel, Theology of Calvin, 169 ff.
4. Cf. Schneckenburger, Vergleichende Darstellung, 1.75 ff. Lutherans were less concerned about predestination and assurance, and placed more weight on faith.

besides Perkins, used works as a pointer to election,(1) but he used it more strenuously to assure men that the smoke of sanctification could only come from the fire of grace and ultimately from the call of God. He did not, however, make good works the only testimony to election, and if successors used this teaching in a more subjective way, he, at least, kept this testimony to election subordinate to Word and Spirit.

His thinking on the subject was dominated by his concern for comforting consciences. Many would be excluded from paradise, but Perkins went to surprising lengths to ensure that none strayed from the fold because of despair. Not only did he discuss in detail the inward and outward tokens of adoption, such as sorrow for sin, combat between the flesh and spirit, desire not to sin, love of Christ above all things and new obedience,(2) he also made the important point that there were degrees of faith,(3) and therefore differences in response to preaching of the gospel. To help his pastoral work, he attempted to work out the least measure of grace necessary for salvation, believing that if he could do this he would both provide a foundation for comfort (4) and yet not endanger God's initiative in salvation.

1. T.Wilcox,A discourse touching the doctrine of doubting, Cambridge,1598,304; cf.Beza,Pithie summe,68.
2. Creed,1.284-6.
3. Ibid,1.125-7; Revelation,3.358,speaks of faith never being without doubt.
4. Grain of mustard seed,1.637.

All was not spiritually lost if one could not detect any evidence of sanctification. "An hearty disliking of our sins because they are sins, and a desire of reconciliation with God in Christ for them all,"(1) were two straws which could have only been blown by the wind of the Spirit. Lack of these provided no confirmation for despair. The sparks of grace could be blown into a flame by hearing the Word and receiving the sacraments.

> "When we have care to come into the Lords vineyard, and to converse about the winepress, we shall find the sweet juice of heavenly grace pressed forth unto us plentifully by the Word and sacraments, to the comfort of our consciences, concerning Gods election." (2)

This theme, which was elaborated in later works like A graine of mustard-seede, was not intended as a short-cut to salvation, but to ensure that none were turned away from the mercy gate without first having knocked hard by fully using the means of grace.

Grace might reduce to this minute point in the human heart, but Perkins was careful not to leave men there. Recognition of this seed of grace was only intended to help the beginnings of Christian life.

1. Creed, 1.286.
2. Ibid, 1.287.

> "I speak not this to make men secure and to content themselves with these small beginnings of grace, but only to show how any may assure themselves that they are at the least babes in Christ: adding this withal, that they which have no more but these small beginnings must be careful to increase them, because he which goes not forward goes backward." (1)

Assurance came not at the beginning but at a much later stage. Men could dare to labour for experience, or peace of conscience, because faith created from nothing.(2) Use of the means of grace led to a sense of spiritual bondage, this to a desire to believe in Christ which was proved by asking, seeking and looking for him. Persuasion of mercy followed and then experience of the goodness of God, "after long use of the means." Growth in understanding culminated in a full persuasion of mercy and forgiveness which was worthy of the title 'assurance.'(3)

Constant emphasis on labouring to grow in grace did not mean that Perkins had concealed the substance of pelagianism under the forms of calvinism. He insisted that

> "there is no virtue or gift of God in us, without our wills: and in every good act, Gods grace, and mans will, concur: Gods grace, as the principal cause; mans will renewed, as the instrument of God. And therefore in all good things, industry, and labour, and invocation on our parts is required."(4)

This co-operation was not in justification, but in sanctification. Only God could plant the mustard seed of grace.

1. Creed,1.286-7; Greenham,Works,314,also insisted that "every day must have a days increase in godliness."
2. Hebrews,3.4;cf.Greenham,Works,34,for a passage on labouring for peace of conscience.
3. Galatians,2.308.
4. Gods free grace,1.738; Revelation,3.336.

Other theologians were interested in problems of assurance, degrees of faith and labouring to grow in grace,(1) but they did not use these ideas so extensively, or so systematically as Perkins to assure the troubled conscience of its acceptance by God. He emphasised the place of personal experience to a greater degree than Ursinus, to give only one contemporary comparison. The section appended to A case of conscience, taken from Zanchius also had a different tone, and directed the doubting conscience to the persons of the Godhead, rather than to faith and feelings, though he briefly mentioned these.(2)

Perkins' pastoral concern which led him to extend reformed teaching about assurance was praiseworthy, but there were other pastoral approaches (3) which did not lead so readily to introspection. Constantly to search one's motives for signs of grace and decline of sin led, in sensitive souls, all too easily to scrupulosity.(4) Simply to establish the reliability of the promises, as he had in his doctrine of scripture

1. Grain of mustard seed,1.640; Beza,Pithie summe,76; Hyperius, Practis of preaching,109b,"as soon as any do earnestly begin to apply their mind to the attainment of divine knowledge,God himself vouchsafeth to be present with them"; Greenham,Works,238,speaks of sparks of faith as grains of mustard seed; Zanchius,Case of conscience,1.434.
2. Ibid,1.434,speaks of faith as a grain of mustard seed,but concentrates attention on Christ,not the faith. Perkins does not make this clear distinction.
3. Porter,Reformation and reaction,285,cites the way Overall comforted those distressed about their election. Hooker, Ecclesiastical polity,A comfortable sermon of faith, had neither Perkins' intensity, nor his interest in psychological detail.
4. J.Knox,Works,(ed.D.Laing),6 vols.,Edinburgh,1895,3.331 ff. for his problems with Mrs.Bowes' conscience; Two puritan diaries,89,114,for examples of devout introspection.

without pursuit of the matter into details of men's grasp of the promises might have avoided this danger, but Perkins, and other preachers,(1) evidently believed that there was less need to worry about scruples, than to ensure that men's hard hearts were broken by the hammers of the law. This done, genuine faith could grow, aided by judicious weeding of sin and pruning of corrupted affections. Perkins exhorted his hearers to take lessons in self-preservation from the world. Were wordly men scrupulously careful about their goods and houses? Then let Christians be the same with their calling and election. Otherwise their goods and houses would be bills of accusation at Judgement.

To ignore good works was, for the Christian, as impossible as changing the order of nature, as unlikely as "if the sun should cease to shine by day and the moon by night."(2) Yet if men were utterly humbled by their knowledge of God's majesty, cast down by affliction and crosses, assurance of the eternal predestination of God made them content to bear their sorrows, because they knew that nothing comes to pass by chance.(3) They knew with unshakeable certainty that grace could not be lost, that the calling of God was without repentance, despite the continued efforts of Satan to drive

1. R.Bruce,The mystery of the Lord's Supper,(ed.T.F.Torrance) 1958,172; A.Hume,Ane treatise of conscience,Edinburgh,1594, 119-20,advised writing down deliverances to give comfort in future periods of desertion; Greenham,Works,296-8, all counselled self-examination as a certain weapon to keep Satan at bay;cf.Roman Catechism,267.
2. Creed,1.292.
3. Ibid,1.293; Galatians,2.278.

the frail bark of their faith onto the rocks of doubt. Right understanding of the doctrine of election enabled men to take "the anchor of hope, and fasten it in heaven upon the foundation of God's election: which being done, we shall pass in safety, and rejoice in the midst of all storms and tempests." (1) Rectified judgements, affections and lives followed a right understanding of predestination.(2) With a pure conscience and a will turned to its true end, Christian life should express heavenly freedom to do right, not from law or compulsion, but because of oneness with Christ.

> "The people of God that are turned and guided by the free Spirit of God, must be a voluntary people, and with all alacrity and cheerfulness, do the duties that pertain to them of a ready mind, even as if there were neither heaven nor hell, Judge nor judgement after this life. The spirit of life that is in Christ must be a law unto them." (3)

Those who lived thus had no need to worry about the future, because it was safely in God's hands. To make use of astrology or magic was to deny his providence.(4) Perkins treated astrology and associated popular superstitions with a certain amount of mockery and scepticism, as well as demolishing their claims with 'scientific' arguments. He suggested that the future could not be told from the stars any more than

1. Creed,1.292.
2. Ibid,1.290. Perkins' emphasis on the 'uses' of the doctrine has no earlier parallels in reformed theology.
3. Gods free grace,1.739.
4. Resolution,sig.Bva,attacks those who sought for knowledge of the future, because they were greedy for gain and distrustful of God, so that they "fear, and admire, and love the means, quite forgetting the work of God in the means."

a man could tell what kind of chickens would be hatched merely by looking at the hen.(1) To concentrate on only a few stars out of 1028 was nonsensical,(2) while ascribing events to particular days without taking the nativity of the reader into account was contrary to the practice of the best astrologers. Nor did it seem reasonable that America which "is half the world has no signs appointed over it,"(3) whereas both Africa and Europe had. However much worldlings used almanacks (and there is no evidence that Perkins' writings against them had any effect), "they which be ingrafted into Jesus Christ indeed, are so far from searching what shall befall hereafter, that they lead a life which is a continual meditation of present death."(4)

Witchcraft was an infinitely more serious matter. It was a particularly dangerous form of deceit practised by Satan so that

> "young children, and men of riper yeears, are by Gods permission infected,poisoned,hurt,bounden,killed and otherwise molested; or contrarily, sometimes cured of Satan, by mumbling up some few words,making certain characters and figures,framing circles,hanging amulets about the neck,or other parts,or by herbs,medicines and such like trumpery,that thereby the punishment of the faithless may be augmented..and the faithful may be tried,whether they will commit the like abomination."(5)

To say that witches were merely doting old women was a papist device.(6) His brief discussion of the subject in Armilla

1. Resolution,sig.Cviiib.
2. Ibid,sig.Diia.
3. Ibid,sig.Fiiia.
4. Ibid,sig.Giib.
5. Armilla aurea,1.40.
6. Ibid.

aurea was considerably expanded in A discourse of the damned art of witchcraft which was published after his death and was possibly preached during the late 1590's, when there was considerable interest in the subject.(1)

It is not fully clear why witchcraft in England was largely confined to the south. Three quarters of the cases tried occurred within a thirty mile radius of London.(2) Undoubtedly there was some relationship between this and the influence of reformed ideas (3) and the translations of continental protestant handbooks on occult phenomena.(4) Many events occurred which were difficult to explain without Satan. Inexplicable outbreaks of disease and sudden misfortune were readily associated with eccentric old ladies who did not get on with their neighbours. In addition there were insane and perverted people, plus a small number whose practice of black magic fed popular rumour and imagination.

English witchcraft was less complicated than its continental counterpart and without torture there was less incentive for the accused to embroider the Devil's activity with such sensational details as were recorded in the infamous Malleus

1. R.T.Davies, Four centuries of witch beliefs,1947; C.L.Ewen, Witchcraft and demonianism,1933; G.L.Kittredge, Witchcraft in old and New England,Cambridge,Mass.,1929; W.Notestein, History of witchcraft in England,Washington,1911, all give useful discussions of the background of Perkins' thinking.
2. Notestein,op.cit.,26.
3. Davies,op.cit.,13-4.
4. L.Daneau, A dialogue of witches,1575; L.Lavater, Of ghostes and spirits walking by nyght,1572.

maleficarum, produced by the Dominicans. (1) Something like 200 cases occurred between 1560-1600, of which 50 resulted in executions.(2) Methods of extracting evidence were crude and often grossly unfair to the accused. Occasionally, scholars attempted to prick the bubble of popular superstition, but works like Scot's found little contemporary support.(3) Opinion was heavily on the side of others like Perkins who took the reality of witches for granted.

His Damned art of witchcraft discussed witchcraft in general and the nature of the covenant between Satan and the witch on which the practice was based. Different types of witchcraft were analysed and suggestions made about recognising witches.(4) Though he rejected trial by ordeal, scratching and other popular tests, his own were scarcely more satisfactory--their own testimony and the evidence of two witnesses, which were flimsy enough safeguards when the only worthy penalty was death.(5) The only real preservative against witchcraft was to be in the covenant of grace (6) and to live a life of sanctity so that there was no temptation to have recourse to black arts.

Dubious though the honour is, Perkins produced one of

1. Ewen, Witchcraft,60-2,points out the geographical variation in witch beliefs. Werewolves were unknown in England and Roman Catholic and protestant accounts of compacts with the devil reflected theological differences.
2. Notestein,Witchcraft,56.
3. R.Scot, The discoverie of witchcraft,1584; Van Baarsel, Perkins,262, points out that J.Wier, who had done the same thing in the Netherlands, was violently attacked by Bodin and James VI.
4. Damned art,201-14; cf.Galatians,2.332-3.
5. Damned art,256-7.
6. Ibid,220.

the most forceful, able statements of the case for the reality of witches and their activities. Fifty years later Robert Filmer attacked the work critically and with the aid of some judicious misconstruction and genuinely weak points in Perkins' arguments, asked whether

> "all these proofs and presumptions numbered up by Mr.Perkins, for the conviction of a witch, be not all condemned, or confessed by himself to be insufficient or uncertain." (1)

In New England, where belief in witches died hard, Perkins' had such prestige, that an opponent of his views on witchcraft attacked them, not directly, but instead denied that he had ever written Damned art of witchcraft.(2) Ady asserted that it had been written by a papist and mistakenly included in his works by editors who had found the manuscript among his papers.

This aspect of his teaching on the strange ways of God had a longer life than his strict views on predestination. This left too many problems unsolved, or, worse still, solved problems in such a way that even more difficult questions were raised. It was all very well to insist on the sovereignty of God in salvation, but not at the cost of reducing the work of Christ to a part of the eternal decree and presenting God in a light which represented him as less just than the humans he willed to save. Arminius, Overall and Hooker were right to attack the resulting distortion of Christian truth and to

1. R.Filmer, An advertisement to the jurymen of England touching witches,1653,sig.Aiib.
2. T.Ady, A candle in the dark,1655,162-3.

attempt a more satisfactory reconciliation of mercy and justice, which placed less strain on the Christian conscience. His teaching on assurance, removed from its rigidly predestinarian context, passed into evangelical theology and was used without embarrassment by those whom Perkins would have attacked as pelagians.(1)

1. J.Wesley, The letters,(ed.J.Telford), 8 vols., /1931/, 4.126,where Wesley used Perkins against an anglican who was foolish enough to claim that Wesley's doctrine of assurance had never been taught in the Church of England. I owe this reference to Professor Rupp.

CHAPTER SEVEN THE DIRECTION OF CONSCIENCE.

(i)

A good conscience was a jewel beyond price,(1) because it gave men the assurance of election which enabled them to rejoice in affliction,(2) and to be bold before God and men whatever the outward circumstances. A bad conscience, on the other hand, was an insupportable burden which brought gnawing terror about Judgement which could only be assuaged by the blood of Christ,(3) shame, sorrow and fear which "will make a man afraid, if he see but a worm peep out of the ground."(4) The body was also affected with "exceeding heat, like that which is in the fit of an ague, the rising of the entrails towards the mouth, and swooning."(5) Other symptoms of a bad conscience were desperation and perturbation "whereby all the powers and faculties of the whole man are forth of order."(6) When such momentous consequences were involved, the cure and care of conscience were vitally important.

Perkins had a lifelong interest in the subject, not only writing extensively on the subject, but also practising the cure of wounded spirits. His work began amongst prisoners in the Cambridge gaol, and Clarke contains a story dating from this period which admirably illustrates Perkins' methods.

> "A young lusty fellow going up the ladder discovered an extraordinary lumpishness,and dejection of spirit,

1. Discourse of conscience,1.552.
2. Galatians,2.278.
3. Discourse of conscience,I.552.
4. Ibid,1.536; Greenham,Works,275.
5. Discourse of conscience,1.536.
6. Ibid.

and when he turned himself at the upper round to speak to the people,he looked with a rueful and heavy countenance,as if he had been half dead already: whereupon Master Perkins laboured to cheer up his spirits, and finding him still in an agony,and distress of mind,he said unto him,What man? what is the matter with thee? Art thou afraid of death?

Ah no (said the prisoner,shaking his head)but of a worser thing: Sayest thou so? (said Master Perkins) come down again man,and thou shalt see what Gods grace will do to strengthen thee: Whereupon the prisoner coming down,Master Perkins took him by the hand,and made him kneel down with himself at the ladder foot...when that blessed man of God made such an effectual prayer in confession of sins,...as made the poor prisoner burst out into abundance of tears; and Master Perkins finding that he had brought him low enough,even to hell gates, he proceeded to the second part of his prayer,and therein to show him the Lord Jesus (the saviour of all penitent, and believing sinners) stretching forth his blessed hand of mercy,and power to save him in that distressed estate, and to deliver him from all the powers of darkness;which he did so sweetly press with such heavenly art,and powerful words of grace upon the soul of the poor prisoner,as cheered him up again to look beyond death,with the eyes of faith,to see how the black lines of all his sins were crossed,and cancelled with the red lines of his crucified Saviours precious blood;so graciously applying it to his wounded conscience,as made him break into new showers of tears for joy of the inward consolation which he found,... who (the prayer being ended) rose from his knees cheerfully, and went up the ladder again so comforted, and took his death with such patience,and alacrity,as if he actually saw himself delivered from the hell which he feared before, and heaven opened for the receiving of his soul." (1)

Such comfort of conscience was not to be found in Roman Catholicism. Perkins' editor complained that the task was entrusted to those who were intellectually and spiritually inadequate, for instead of teaching that Christ had the power of the keys and being content to declare his will, they claimed the power to judge men's estate. Unsound doctrine worsened the penitent's situation. Untenable distinctions were drawn between mortal and venial sins, confession was made compulsory

1. S.Clarke,The marrow of ecclesiastical historie,1654,416-7.

with absolution depending on the confession of all sins, implicit faith was accepted and assurance of pardon was denied.(1) Comfort of conscience was not the appropriate term for this---murder of souls was more appropriate.

These doctrines and practices had not always been interpreted in such an unfavourable light, but had gradually developed from the practice of the western church as she attempted to strike a mean between laxity and rigorism. The steady development of private confession, especially in the Celtic church, gave priests more and more of a disciplinary power which had originally belonged to the episcopate. Though there were abuses, this method of pastoral care and discipline worked quite well for centuries and was a potent civilising agent.(2)

To aid poorly-educated priests to make correct pastoral decisions, handbooks called penitentials were produced, which recorded relevant conciliar and synodal decisions plus useful extracts from the fathers on pastoral care and ethics. Considerable variations existed, but nonetheless these books were a distinct advance in pastoral care because they attempted to relate penance to offence and also to social status. Use of these books had declined by the twelfth century when revival of learning and appearance of new orders aroused a new inter-

1. Cases of conscience, Epistle dedicatory.
2. J.T.McNeill,The history of the cure of souls,New York,1952; R.C. Mortimer,The origins of private penance,Oxford,1939; T.P.Oakley,English penitential discipline,New York,1923; DTC,"Casuistique," contains useful background material, though more study needs to be done at diocesan and parish level.

est in ethics.

Discussion of human actions, conscience, law all contributed to a decline of mechanical ideas about penance and a shift of interest away from punishment, to assessment of moral obligation and how reconciliation to God could best be achieved. It was in this soil that the Summae confessorarum made their appearance.(1) This fresh pastoral aid provided priests with compendia of the matters necessary for discharge of their duties in the confessional. Despite their often disordered arrangement and their tendency to confuse church law with moral and pastoral problems they continued to be used until well into the sixteenth century.

Though the century preceding the reformation produced little moral theology of permanent value, the work of St. Anthony of Florence showed that the subject was not just being treated in a traditional manner. In his Summa theologia moralis, he attempted to answer the fresh moral problems which emerged with the revival of trade and city life.(2) Theological changes were also occurring which made it possible for moralists to see virtue less as a habit than as a series of decisions made in response to commandments, though this as often strengthened legalism as it led to the possibilities of

1. DTC, "Casuistique," gives a full list of these works, while their contents and significance are discussed by J.Ditterle, "Die Summae Confessorum," ZKG, 1903-7; J.G.Ziegler, Die Ehrelehre der Pönitentialsummen von 1200-1300, Wurzburg, 1956, 1-30.
2. DTC, "St.Anthony," says that this work discussed the soul, its faculties and passions, sin and law, capital sins, restitution and infidelity, different estates, God, Christ, saints, purgatory, moral and cardinal virtues, grace and the Holy Spirit.

choice being presented to the penitent.

Confession at least once a year had become compulsory in 1215, though this decree of the Lateran Council did nothing more than regularise existing practice. Theology of confession and penance continued to develop, though, by the sixteenth century, there was little unanimity of opinion and practice.(1) Uncertainty was aggravated by lax practices and superstitious ideas about grace and merit which led the reformers to reject much traditional pastoral theology and practice.

Luther's attitude to traditional casuistry was symbolised by his burning of one of the most widely used medieval handbooks--the Summa Angelica. He and the other leading reformers were deeply distrustful of attempts to pacify troubled consciences by human wisdom, instead of by the proper means--the Word of God. Any legalistic system of casuistry and moral theology was abhorrent to them, an unnecessary weight on conscience that diverted it from its duty to God and neighbour. Tyndale summarised this early protestant attitude and vividly expressed the sense of release felt by many. No longer did men need to run to clergy for advice, and say,

> "Sir,I pray you, what say ye to this case and to that; and is not this lawful,and may not I so do,and so,well enough? Ask thine own conscience,what thou mayest or oughtest to do. Wouldest thou men did so with thee? Then do it...In all cases,examine thy conscience,and ask her what is to be done,in all doubts between thy neighbour and thee; and she will teach thee,except thou be more filthy than a swine." (2)

1.G.J.Spykman,Attrition and contrition at the Council of Trent, Kampen,1955,gives an admirable survey.
2.Tyndale, Expositions,118-9; Treatise tending,1.395,quotes this passage.

Care of conscience was based on scripture, because God was its only ruler. Where the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments failed to bring peace, voluntary recourse to ministers was encouraged for they had been given the power of the keys to assure troubled sinners of their forgiveness once they were satisfied that repentance was genuine. All the leading reformers conducted a voluminous pastoral correspondence(1) and preached and wrote on problems of conduct.(2) In so doing they set new standards of pastoral care, while Bucer made an attempt to realise the priesthood of all believers in mutual care of souls.(3)

Healing of troubled consciences was only one side of the great reformers' pastoral activity. Much effort went into education of believing consciences through catechisms (4) and popular religious literature, in the hope that with their consciences edified and at peace all Christians would be able to live the life that conformed to the gospel. Jewel eloquently expressed this hope.

> "Let them give the gospel free passage: let the truth of Jesu Christ give his clear light,...and then shall they forthwith see how all these shadows straight will vanish and pass away at the light of the gospel."(5)

1. M.Luther,Letters of spiritual counsel,(ed.T.G.Tappert),1954; J.D.Benoit,Calvin,directeur d'ames,Strasbourg,1947.
2. Despite his denunciation of traditional casuistry,Tyndale did not think that this was incompatible with the translation of a little tract by Oecolampadius on the lawfulness of flight from the plague. Martyr,Commonplaces,2.13.38-43,discussed 'cases' on lying. None of the early reformers saw any danger in advising on cases,according to scripture and common sense.
3. J.Courvoisier,La notion d'église chez Bucer,Paris,1933,97-117.
4. T.F.Torrance,The school of faith,1959,xi-cvi,has an invaluable introduction on reformation catechisms.
5. Jewel,Apology,68.

The shadows were far more obstinate that that. By the end of the century it was apparent that to produce a reformed society, as well as reformed doctrine and worship, was a task of the greatest magnitude. To contend for the great principles of the gospel and ignore more prosaic details about instruction of conscience meant, according to Ames, that "a famine of godliness hath followed in many places, and out of that famine a grievous spiritual plague."(1)

Despite Ames' complaint there was considerable moral instruction given. Children were drilled in the moral adages of the classics and the gospel, and judging by the number of books on the subject there was widespread interest in correct behaviour.(2) Aristotle's ethics were studied at most protestant universities and harmonised with the principles of the gospel. In such a moralistic environment it is not surprising that questions about correct Christian behaviour perplexed many a believer, and added force to religious queries which troubled sensitive consciences. In 1589 Francis Bacon complained that many English preachers did not draw "their directions down ad casus conscientiae, that a man may be warranted in his particular actions whether they be lawful or not."(3) It was not until 1604, however, that a handbook of Cases of conscience appeared, written by Perkins.

1. W.Ames,Conscience,with the power and cases thereof,1639,To the reader.
2. Wright,Middle class culture,53,80; Houghton,Formation of Holy and Profane States,92; R.Kelso,The doctrine of the English gentleman,Urbana,1929,discusses one branch of estates literature.
3. Houghton,op.cit.,72.

Before this,most protestant moral direction had been particular counsel in the form of sermons, letters, commentaries, commonplaces and small treatises. Thomas Venatorius of Nurnberg had attempted to found a biblical ethic on Ecclesiastes and Sirach (1) but found no followers until Daneau's Ethices Christianae in 1577.(2) It was not fortuitous that the first systematic works on ethics and on casuistry were both written by reformed theologians. Though the difference must not be overdrawn, there was more interest in moral problems in the reformed churches than amongst Lutheran who tended to be more interested in pure doctrine. Reformed theologians yielded to none in their concern for pure doctrine, but were also concerned to produce a reformed society and emphasised the importance of good works to an extent which was rarely found in Lutheran theology. It is difficult to explain this difference, which reflected political environment as well as doctrinal variations, but different explanations of justification and 'Law' were partly responsible. (3) Luther had taught that 'Law' had nothing to do with a good conscience,(4) Bucer, Calvin and Martyr stressed its importance

1. W.Köhler,Dogmengeschichte,2 vols.,Zurich,1951,2.133.
2. De Félice,Daneau,172-85,analyses this work;cf.A.Schweizer, "Die Entwickelung des Moralsystems in der reformirten Kirche," Theologische Studien und Kritiken,1850,23.
3. Schneckenburger,Vergleichende Darstellung,1.39,ff.works out the differences between Lutheran and reformed in great detail.
4. Y.J.E.Alanen,Das Gewissen bei Luther,Helsinki,1934,82.

in guiding the new obedience of the Christian man.(1) They attempted to give this new obedience a positive content,(2) whereas Lutherans who followed Luther rather than Melanchthon sometimes carried opposition to good works to theological extremes. Reformed emphases on sanctification and the manner in which good works assured of election seemed, to them, little better than legalism.

Some modern scholars support this and see the period after Calvin and Luther as one of declension. Barth claims that matters had reached such a pass by the end of the century that Perkins was willing and able to write "a book De casibus conscientiae in which he gave a systematic account of the correct individual decisions enjoined upon the Christian."(3)

(ii)

Despite its traditional title, Perkins' work had little in common with medieval and Roman Catholic works of the same title, but was thoroughly reformed. Any hint of priestly authority was studiously avoided. Ministerial counsel and power were derivative and authoritative only insofar as they agreed with the Word, through which Christ spoke to his church. (4) Nor did it resemble traditional collections of cases in being written in Latin for clergy. Perkins taught that all

1. cf.Calvin,Institutes,2.7.12.
2. The best example is M.Bucer,De regno Christi;W.Pauck,Das Reich Gottes auf Erden,Berlin,1928,discusses its importance.
3. K.Barth,Church dogmatics,3/4,Edinburgh,1961,8.
4. cf. Roman Catechism,272,"no one can gain admission into heaven, unless its gate be opened by the priest, to whose fidelity the Lord has confided its keys."

Christians were obliged personally to believe the truths of Christian faith, instead of resting content with implicit faith which depended on the church. Each Christian had a duty to keep a pure conscience so that it excused before God, "howsoever there may be infirmities in us."(1) Consequently, Perkins wrote in the vernacular to help ordinary believers along the path of spiritual health, as well as to guide ministers in their direction of afflicted consciences.

Cases of conscience did not contain extracts from leading protestant theologians, or decisions handed down by reformed synods. There was no interest in church law, or any attempt to support resolutions of cases by weighty authorities from the past. Perkins' authority was scripture, and though there were allusions to others' opinions his principal aim was to direct men's attention to the mind of God and to lay down and illustrate principles, rather than to give an exhaustive account of correct individual decisions.

Many matters which were included in medieval handbooks were omitted.(2) He did not discuss marriage, priestly power, excommunication, reserved cases or problems of irregularity related to the sacraments. Some of these issues were treated

1. Sermon on mount, 3.149.
2. Pembroke College possesses a fifteenth century Penitentiale, printed at Louvain, which was owned by Andrewes. This work discussed penance, confession, satisfaction, the 7 deadly sins, theological and cardinal virtues, substance and accidents of sin, irregularity and the sacraments. The bulk of this section was devoted to matrimonial problems. (cap.47-73). Confirmation and unction were only given a chapter each. Excommunication, and types of penance and suitable questions for different groups of penitent were also treated. Children, for example, were to be questioned about lying, perjury and annoying parents, but the confessor was warned not to ask such questions as made them aware of sins of which they were innocent. Fol. Gii.

in other parts of his works, but the fact that he did not include them in the marrow of the subject indicates the extensive change which had come over moral and pastoral theology since the reformation. Interest had shifted from problems of sacramental grace to questions related to election, justification, scripture, and moral and practical theology were much more clearly and consciously related. Traditional manuals had a much more limited function. They were written for use in the confessional, and only paid incidental attention to the edification of conscience, an approach which had serious weaknesses when priests neglected their duties outside the confessional.

Yet if Perkins' approach was reformed, there were unmistakable links with and dependence upon medieval moralists, notably in his recognition of the value of systematically relating moral and dogmatic theology. In part this came from contemporary tendencies to systematise and to relate protestant theology to the whole of human learning, but Perkins' knowledge of medieval moral theology was also influential. He deliberately set out to produce a protestant substitute for this, but used a reformed dogmatic basis instead of a Thomist one. Previous protestant theologians had been content to apply biblical principles to particular problems without relating this method in detail to the rest of their knowledge.(1)

1. Greenham, Works, To the reader, (written by H.Holland) pointed out that Luther, Beza, Rhegius and Tossanus "have very excellent forms of consolation; and many godly brethren in our times have ministered good help for the cure of souls afflicted." Nonetheless he felt that "we rather guess uncertainly to apply good remedies, and speeches unto the sick, than know how to proceed by any certain rule of art and well grounded practice."

Dependence on medieval moral theology was unavoidable, because the great reformers had stressed other parts of Christian truth, and had either ignored questions about the nature of goodness, conscience, law, equity and virtues, or else only treated them sketchily. In addition these were so much part of their theological background that they could take them for granted. This was not the case by the end of the century. Perkins, for instance, had received a protestant theological education. If he wished to read any thorough analyses of conscience, equity, or virtue the best source was scholastic theology.

He admitted that "in the church of Rome a man may hear things concerning moral virtues, handled soundly,"(1) and though he denounced those who delighted in writings of the schoolmen above all others, he was by no means the only scholar in Cambridge to make use of medieval moral theology. Andrewes owned a Penitentiale, and the widespread use of medieval moral theology by seventeenth century casuists (2) must have had much earlier antecedents. Perkins was at least partly responsible for this study of medieval moralists and would doubtless have used them more extensively but for the limitations which he imposed on himself in his Cases of conscience,

1. Revelation, 3.221.
2. T.Wood, English casuistical divinity during the seventeenth century, 1952, 57-8; Wilkins, Ecclesiastes, 48, gives a list of medieval theologians for casuists to read.

> "I will only (as it were) walk by the banks of it, and propound the heads of doctrine, that thereby I may at least occasion others,to consider and handle the same more at large." (1)

Two examples of his dependence on medieval moral theologians can be seen in his discussions of equity and conscience, though as a puritan he should not have been interested in equity.(2) He intended to discuss it in Cases of conscience, (3) but his thoughts on the subject were published separately in his superb little treatise, Epieikia. This work was in marked contrast to previous protestant attitudes. Martyr had limited its scope to situations "where nothing is provided for by the laws: that is, where neither reward of well doing, nor punishment of wicked acts is expressly appointed."(4) Luther had discussed the concept mainly in connection with natural ethics (5) as had Calvin.(6) Musculus had suggested that while the natural man knew the law of equity, he was unable to apply it without the aid of the Holy Spirit. He did not, however, explore the implications of this suggestion.(7)

Perkins gave this virtue an important place in his account of the Christian life. He defined it as "a rare and excellent

1. Cases of conscience,2.2.
2. R.B.Perry, Puritanism and democracy,New York,1944,288,quotes the following with approval,"The puritan has always been a consistent and thoroughgoing opponent of equity. It runs counter to all his ideas."
3. Cases of conscience,2.114.
4. Martyr, Commonplaces,4.14.1.
5. Köhler, Dogmengeschichte,2.192.
6. Calvin, Institutes,4.20.16; cf.Wallace, Calvin's doctrine of the Christian life,141; cf.Discourse of conscience,1.520.
7. Musculus, Commonplaces,117b-8a.

virtue, whereby men use a true mean, and an equal moderation in all their affairs...for the maintaining of justice, and preservation of peace."(1) It was the marrow and strength of the commonwealth and applied both in public and private affairs. Judges were to use it to moderate the law in the case of a starving boy who was charged with the theft of food.(2) Likewise merchants' lives would be intolerable without the use of equity to allow flexibility in contracts and give a day's grace to borrowers.(3)

This extension was influenced by Thomist ideas of positive law being corrected by equity when it failed to take circumstances into account,(4) but Perkins did not base this correction on the priority of natural over positive law. Equity was derived from the Word which preceded the giving of the Law. Lawyers and judges were responsible for the letter of the law, but it was part of ministers' calling to advise on the spirit in which the letter of the law was to be interpreted.(5)

Equity was not only to be practised in particular callings, it was also demanded of every Christian in all his dealings.

1. Epieikia,2.436; Ibid,2.452,(misnumbered 425) expressed the hope that others would treat equity in more detail.
2. Ibid,2.438.
3. Ibid,2.439.
4. T.Aquinas, Summa theologica,(English edition),22 vols.,1920-5,1.11.q.80,ad.5, links equity and commonsense; 1.11.q.96, a.6,ad.3, "Since the lawgiver cannot have in view every single case, he shapes the law according to what happens most frequently, by directing his attention to the common good. Wherefore if a case arises wherein the observance of that law would be hurtful to the general welfare, it should not be observed."
5. Epieikia,2.441.

Here Perkins defined it as "a moderate, even, and equal carriage of a mans self, in all his private words and deeds, towards all other men, and all their words and deeds."(1) Bearing others' infirmities and regarding their actions in the best possible light were included in this definition, because equity was intimately related to love, because "the more that a Christian is rooted in true love, the more infirmities will he pass by."(2)

In such a litigious society as Elizabethan England, a warning against the spiritual dangers of standing on one's rights could scarcely go amiss. Perkins attempted to shame those who stood for their rights so zealously that they ignored the glory of God and the good of their neighbour. Such an attitude did not stand with equity, for love was not a disembodied religious emotion. It was to be practised so that it was recognisable by others. Indeed "even salvation it self, in some sort, depends upon the practice of this duty, yet not as a cause, but as a sign, or an effect of salvation"(3)

He emphasised the importance of this virtue, not because it was natural, but because it was the way in which God acted towards men, when he withheld their just deserts, moderated the terrors of conscience so that they were bearable, and counted the intentions of men more important than their actual achievements.

1. Epieikia,2.442.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid,2.446.

> "Shall the Lord deal thus moderately with thee, for thy many, and so great sins, and wilt thou deal so hardly with thy brother, in his few and small offences against thee? remember therefore in thy dealing with thy brother, this dealing of God with thee." (1)

Though Luther had used 'equity' to describe God's mercy in justification,(2) he did not relate it in such detail to social duties, or link it with eschatology like Perkins. According to the latter this was yet another motive for practising the virtue. When a cut-purse saw a judge he did not steal. How much more should this be a motive to equity in those who were conscious that they lived in the presence of the Judge of Judges, whose judgement was so close at hand? (3) Yet men's blind wickedness was such, that instead of equity bearing sway, "moderation dwells in corners."(4)

The concept of conscience was another matter which the early reformers took for granted,(5) but which needed development before a protestant moral theology could be produced. There had been two brief treatments published in Britain before the appearance of Perkins' Discourse of conscience in 1596,(6) but he provided the most complete statement of the subject. Once again he used the teaching of medieval scholars where it agreed with his leading ideas. (7)

1. Epieikia,2.451.
2. Moldaenke, Schriftverständnis,454.
3. Epieikia,2.452.(misnumbered 425)
4. Ibid.
5. Calvin, Institutes,3.19.15-6; Martyr,Commonplaces,3.5.7, are both brief.
6. J.Woolton, Of the conscience,1576; A.Hume, Ane treatise of conscience,1594. Ames, Conscience,2, was wrong to say that Perkins' work was the first in England.
7. R.Lindemann, Der Begriff der Conscience im Französischen Denken,Jena,1938, gives the best survey of medieval teaching.

He took the Thomist position that conscience was in the understanding rather than in the affections,(1) and defined it as "a part of the understanding in all reasonable creatures, determining of their particular actions either with them or against them."(2) Unlike Woolton, he did not use the scholastic distinction between synteresis and syneidesis,(3) but used the terms of Martyr--theorical and practical understanding.(4) The former gave a general knowledge of natural law, but it was the latter which judged individual actions. He criticised Aquinas for teaching that conscience was bare knowledge or judgement, insisting on the contrary that it was above knowledge and judgement and that it surpassed all other gifts of the mind.(5) As God's vice-regent, it took the other principles of the mind and gave sentence on them.

Though Perkins taught that even an atheist had a knowledge of God, justice, good and evil by natural insight, he held that they were too corrupted by the fall to be of any positive value, but simply deprived men of any excuse for ignorance.(6) Medieval theologians had taught that synteresis was uncorrupted by the fall and provided a basis for man's response to God.(7) Perkins implicitly rejected this position

1. Aquinas, Summa theolgica,1.q.79,a.13,ad.1-3.
2. Discourse of conscience,1.517.
3. Woolton, Conscience,sig.Civa.
4. Discourse of conscience,1.517; Martyr,Commonplaces,3.5.8.
5. Discourse of conscience,1.517. He criticised Summa Theologica, 1.q.79,a.13.
6. Sermon on mount,3.173; Schmidt,ARG,1951,217,is wrong to suggest that Perkins' teaching on conscience gave a basis for natural theology which had hitherto been lacking in Calvinism.
7. Rupp, Righteousness of God,150-3,expounds the way in which Luther broke with this teaching.

when he stressed that supernatural truth and saving knowledge were only revealed in the covenant of grace and the work of Christ.

Conscience delivered judgements through a syllogism. The major premise was provided by the theorical understanding, the minor by the practical understanding, and the conclusion was the judgement of the conscience.(1) Since the fall, this chain of reasoning could no longer be relied on.(2) Men's knowledge of the natural law was corrupted, their knowledge of God little better than idolatry, their judgement of their own motives and actions distorted by pride, and the power of conscience to reach correct conclusions sadly weakened.

In such a situation, there was little point in discussing whether conscience was erring, doubting or repugnant.(3) For Perkins the classifications that mattered were those that indicated whether conscience was good or bad.(4) Actions done when conscience was doubting or erring were still sinful, even though to disobey an erring conscience was also sinful.(5) Divine law had been broken and nothing could alter the fact. Continued sin which was not repented of was likely to lead to a seared or blinded conscience,(6) and complete insensibility to God's promptings was an almost certain sign of reprobation.(7)

1. Discourse of conscience,1.535; Woolton,Conscience,sig.Ciiia-b; Martyr,Commonplaces,3.5.8.
2. Mans imaginations,2.462.
3. Discourse of conscience,1.537; Cases of conscience,2.12; Woolton,op.cit.,sig.Mib ff.
4. Discourse of conscience,1.538.
5. Ibid,1.537.
6. Ibid,1.549-50.
7. Ibid,1.550.(misnumbered 535)

A good conscience was obtained by regeneration and kept by obedience to the Word.(1) God ruled and directed conscience and his direction was found, not in any human ordinance, but by trusting his guidance implicitly, whatever reason or men might say to the contrary. If Perkins spoke of a good conscience never leading astray, it was not because it was an autonomous inner light,(2) but because it was inseparable from obedience to the Word.

> "Whatsoever we enterprise or take in hand, we must first search whether God give us liberty in conscience, and warrant to do it. For if we do otherwise, conscience is bound presently to charge us of sin before God." (3)

Ignorance of the Word, unmortified affections and worldly lusts were impediments to a good conscience.(4) Faith must be cherished and a constant endeavour made to obey God in all things, purposing never to sin, living continually in God's presence and walking in one's calling, which provided an additional restraint against self-will. Good conscience and the rest of God's graces were like a pair of turtle doves, but when conscience decayed "so proportionally all graces and goodness go from us."(5) His treatise on conscience provided an opportunity to discuss his 'themes' from a different angle--

1. Discourse of conscience,1.551-4.
2. C.Brinton,A history of western morals,1959,224 does not understand this when he asserts that the puritan conscience admitted no external limits.
3. Discourse of conscience,1.519. Schmidt,ARG,1951,203,also misunderstands Perkins' doctrine of scripture when he claims that Perkins saw its truth in what it did, not in what it said. In this distinction he professes to see the modern autonomy of conscience as the heart of subjectivism announcing itself.
4. Discourse of conscience,1.553.
5. Ibid,1.554.

election, assurance, obedience to the Word, labouring for grace, were related to a good conscience, instead of to faith.

The belief that only God could properly bind conscience (1) led Perkins, with other protestant theologians, to reject the medieval contention that ecclesiastical law bound equally with scripture.(2) Human laws bound conscience as part of God's command to obey authority, but only so far as they agreed with the Word.(3) Neither church nor magistrate could claim certain divine inspiration, and where they arrogated divine privileges to themselves they were to be disobeyed.(4) Their commands reached only the outward man,(5) and bound only to good order in things indifferent. So long as the end of the law was observed, no offence was given, and there was no contempt of the lawgiver- "a man may do any thing beside human laws and constitutions without breach of conscience."(6) Church law was only concerned with outward order and comeliness, for the foundation of the church and God's worship were set down in the Word.(7)

The balance between authority and freedom was delicate, but in obedience to God they could not conflict. For this reason Perkins could treat laws in things indifferent as useful but not as normative. Liberty of conscience did not mean

1. Discourse of conscience,1.519.
2. Ibid,1.525. L.Vereecke,Conscience morale et loi humaine selon Gabriel Vasquez,Paris,1957, gives a useful discussion of a defence of this position by a contemporary of Perkins.
3. Discourse of conscience,1.530.
4. Ibid; Woolton,Conscience,sig.Mivb.
5. Discourse of conscience,1.529.
6. Ibid,1.531.
7. Ibid.

self-pleasing (1) but freedom from burdensome human laws, so that duty to God and neighbour could be performed without hindrance from irrelevancies which had been exalted to the status of necessities. Satan attempted to mislead men into bypaths of legalism and preciseness, but if men kept a good conscience subordinate to the Word, these dangers could be avoided.

Perkins' interest in conscience and his interest in resolving cases of conscience were intimately related. His Discourse of conscience expounded the theological basis for direction of conscience---obedience to God through his Word.(2) Round this central theme he gathered much material written by earlier reformers and schoolmen, systematising and clarifying their insights. Occasionally he extended the scope of these. For instance, he placed more emphasis than his predecessors on getting and keeping a good conscience, because he had already laid a basis for this in his soteriology.(3) The role conscience played in guiding for the future (4) was also developed, so that men were provided with a mentor which judged all their actions, past, present and future, in the light of the will of God.

1. Discourse of conscience,1.538-40, discusses Christian freedom and its limits.
2. Jude,3.528; Discourse of conscience,1.519.
3. Discourse of conscience,1.553-4; Hume, Conscience,47 ff.; Woolton, Conscience,Oiib.
4. Discourse of conscience,1.536-8.

(iii)

Though medieval thought played some part in providing Perkins with material for his casuistry, his protestant inheritance decisively shaped the final result.(1) Scholastic theology might be useful, but a protestant theology of conscience required "that by others, other things be taught, and the same things, after another manner."(2) Reaction against other parts of medieval moral theology which survived in Roman Catholic theolgy and practice was very sharp. Like earlier reformers, he rejected the sacrament of penance and its associated doctrines, and constantly attacked those who denied that assurance of faith and forgiveness was possible without special revelation.(3) Other matters like the distinction between mortal and venial sins, oaths, vows, fasting and works of satisfaction were either repudiated, or so drastically restated that they bore little resemblance to their medieval antecedents. All these matters had been discussed extensively since the reformation began. Perkins did not say anything fresh, but gave old ideas new impact by placing them within a coherent framework of moral and pastoral theology.

Polemical emphases were unavoidable, because Perkins believed that attack on opposing views illuminated truth

1. K.E.Kirk, Conscience and its problems, 1948, 202, exaggerates medieval influence on reformed casuistry when he says that it was based on medieval models and "largely indebted to medieval authorities."
2. Ames, Conscience, To the reader.
3. Discourse of conscience, 1.524-5.

by placing it in a different light.(1) This resulted in the inclusion of material which seems unrelated to the comfort of consciences. Matters like the binding power of monastic vows, or the value of voluntary poverty, were intended to demolish any lingering traces of superstition in his audience, to demonstrate that the reformed position was true, and also to show that consciences could be adequately directed and comforted by strictly biblical rules and counsels.

His Cases of conscience and his interest in casuistry must be seen in the context of his concern to produce a reformed catholicism in order to shatter Roman Catholic claims to a monopoly of catholic truth. Roman Catholic apologists frequently criticised protestants because they had no certain direction for conscience.(2) While there is no direct evidence that Perkins' Cases of conscience were a reply to the charges of Hill,(3) it is interesting that they appeared after

1. Sermon on mount,3.159, attacked Roman Catholic teaching on fasting.
2. R.Rogers, Seven treatises,1603,Preface,sig.Avia mentioned that "the papists cast in our teeth,that we have nothing set out for the certain and daily direction of a Christian."
3. T.Hill, Quatron of reasons,79,speaking of protestant inadequacies compared with the advantages of Roman Catholicism, said "And besides all this there are taught Cases of Conscience in which is set down,what is sin,and what not: the differences of sins,which great,which lesser,etc.which is a most fruitful and profitable kind of knowledge,and therefore is much studied, and practised by Catholic priests,and divines,who teach the people thereby to rule,to order their lives and actions. Neither doth the Protestant meddle with these matters of conscience,but freighteth his ship only with faith,and never beateth his brain about sins,for that he thinketh none to be imputed to such predestinated,as they all ween themselves to be,which causeth the people their followers to be utterly ignorant of the nature,differences,and quality of sins,and consequently nothing fearful,or stayed by any conscience to commit the same."

his work. He had, however, earlier criticised Roman Catholic case divinity because it bound conscience where God loosed it, and loosed where God bound,(1) and made fairly frequent references to the defects of Roman Catholic moral theologians like Tolet, Navarrus and Molina,(2) so that what he said in Cases of conscience was the fruit of lengthy thought and wide reading.

His rejection of their teaching was not merely destructive. Demolition and construction went on simultaneously, as can be seen in his treatment of confession and his alternative to the distinction between mortal and venial sins.

All the reformers had vehemently repudiated compulsory confession of all sins once a year, which was the canonical minimum of the pre-reformation church. Calvin's denunciation of traditional doctrine was blistering. "By this ruinous procedure, the souls of those who were affected with some sense of God have been most cruelly racked...till at length the only issue was found in despair."(3) None of the reformers denied the place and value of voluntary confession. Where the burden of sins was such that the conscience could not be relieved without recourse to others, Calvin advised recourse to the means God provided in private confession to a pastor.(4) The power of the keys was not abolished. It was restated in accord with biblical evidence.

1. Discourse of conscience,1.530.
2. Sermon on mount,3.38,76; Reformed catholike,1.597.
3. Calvin, Institutes,3.4.17.
4. Ibid,3.4.12. Luther called it "a cure without equal for troubled consciences",quoted McNeill,Cure of souls,167.

Perkins introduced no changes of emphasis here. He pointed out that in troubles of conscience, private and voluntary confession was essential, "whereby a Christian voluntarily at all times may resort to his pastor, and open his estate, and disburden his conscience of such sins as disquiet him."(1) The very act of confession brought relief, and also enabled the pastor to discover what spiritual remedies to apply to the wounded conscience.(2) This confession was not essential to salvation, should be only of the particular scruple which was burdening the conscience, and be made especially to prophets and ministers of the gospel. This did not mean that confession could not be made to any trustworthy man, but Perkins suggested this caveat, because ministers had the gifts which were "the fittest and best able to instruct,correct,comfort,and inform the weak and wounded conscience."(3)

Any satisfactory theory of pastoral care needs to distinguish between the anguish of conscience suffered by a murderer and someone who had merely told a white lie. Protestants rejected the distinction between mortal sins, which were purged by weighty satisfaction, and venial sins which were removed by saying the Lord's Prayer, or partaking of the mass.

1. Calling of ministry,3.446.
2. Cases of conscience,2.2; Prophetica,2.667.
3. Cases of conscience,2.2.

Martyr was one of the first protestants to discuss different kinds of sin (1) and Ursinus had also done something in this direction,(2) so that Perkins was not blazing a trail, but rather widening a track already cut by others.

His classification of various aspects of sin was far more detailed and complicated than that of his predecessors. Evidently he presupposed a high level of Christian maturity in his readers, and an ability to balance factors before reaching a judgement. Sin was defined as a want of conformity to God's law which was not only a want of goodness, but became a habit,(3) for the act of sin left an indelible stain on the soul which rendered the sinner more prone to repeat offences.(4) Nine different kinds of sin were discussed before Perkins reached the conclusion that while every sin was mortal, not all sins were equally mortal.(5) He listed seven different circumstances to be taken into consideration when the seriousness of sin was decided, such as place, manner and time.(6) This complex classification of sins was not only intended to be a pastoral aid for ministers, but also to expose the depth and subtlety of human corruption. By so doing he hoped to preserve readers from its dangers and to keep them from complacency or presumption if they felt that they had not lately committed any serious sins.(7) Only by knowing every aspect

1. Martyr,Commonplaces,2.14.4-10.
2. Ursinus, Summe of religion,78-9.
3. Cases of conscience,2.3.
4. Ibid,2.4; How to live well,1.482 lists Perkins' seven deadly sins-atheism,heresy,apostasy,hypocrisy,carnal security, wilful ignorance and worldliness.
5. Cases of conscience,2.9.
6. Ibid,2.9-10.
7. Ibid,2.10-11.

of sin's psychology could Christians be sure of resisting the wiles of an ever-tempting Satan. If they did fall into his lures, making conscience of every sin was the most certain way to achieve victory.(1)

Such clear continuity with the doctrines of the reformers and strong desire to purge out the last trace of Romanist leaven should make us pause before we agree with the judgement of Barth that Perkins' casuistry was a declension from reformed grace. When his work is compared with that of his predecessors and contemporaries, the overwhelming impression is one of similarity, with differences which mainly reflected his English environment and the peculiar problems of the Church of England. Her members had the difficult task of adapting medieval ecclesiastical machinery to reformed theology and practice, whereas their brethren on the continent, in Scotland, and in the autonomous reformed refugee churches in England were able to practise discipline without such impediments.

Puritan attempts to improve the effectiveness of the ministry were not confined to preaching. Through the classical movement, they attempted to improve standards of pastoral care and discipline. Meetings of the Dedham classis were often used to throw light on knotty cases of conscience and pastoral problems,(2) while difficult questions were occasion-

1. Jude,3.562. Schmidt,ARG,1951,214,rightly remarks that scrupulosity of conscience in Perkins is different from Luther's understanding of faith, but does not do justice to the similarities, or to Perkins' predecessors in England and Europe.
2. Usher, Presbyterian movement,31,48,71.

ally sent to Cambridge for more learned colleagues to resolve.(1) Some of the leaders of the classical movement were noted for their skill in comforting troubled consciences. Wilcox wrote many letters of pastoral consolation,(2) while Greenham, whose links with the movement were slighter, was consulted by people from far and wide.(3) Nor was this concern for comforting consciences a 'puritan' monopoly. Sandys, when Bishop of London,commended Luther's Galatians, "as a treatise most comfortable to afflicted consciences."(4) Nowell, too, was noted for his skill with conscience.(5)

Efforts to instruct lay consciences in the ethical demands of new obedience in Christ were found not only in the books which began to appear in the late 1570's that advanced moral views commonly dubbed 'puritan',(6) but also in many of the Homilies.(7) The collapse of the classical movement ended any hope of ecclesiastical reform while Elizabeth remained alive and placed a premium on the efforts of dedicated pastors. Perkins was well aware that the preaching of the Word was inadequate to keep the power of sin under control and that severity and sharp government were needed,(8) but when this

1. Usher, Presbyterian movement,30.
2. T.Wilcox, Large letters,1589,prints some of these.
3. Bolton,Instruction,227, called him "that great doctor in the art of comforting afflicted consciences."; Rylands English MSS 524,fol.15a-b,for example of this; Works,125-52.
4. Luther,Galatians,To the reader.
5. Clarke,Marrow of ecclesiastical historie,840.
6. T.Wilcox,A glasse for gamesters,1581; J.Northbrooke,A treatise wherein dicing,dauncing etc. on the sabbath are reproved, 1579. These are little different from P.Martyr,A brief treatise concerning the use and abuse of dancing,1580.
7. cf. Against gluttony and drunkenness.
8. Revelation,3.313.

was not possible under the existing administration of the church, and separation was unjustified, casuistry was a partial substitute.

Pickering expressed the hope that more of the learned would devote themselves to case-divinity (or the comfort of afflicted consciences) in order to check the kingdom of Satan, relieve poor distressed souls, and ensure that piety and devotion were more practised.(1) Perkins' Cases of conscience largely systematised previous English thought and practice, and summarised a pastoral lifetime devoted to the practical (2) and theoretical resolution and instruction of conscience. This work appears to have filled a real need(3) for a comprehensive treatment, clear, simple and useful for students, clergy and laity. Ames mentions that he addressed a large student body on the subject, evidently drinking in his pastoral lessons, for

> "this part of prophecy hath hitherto been less practised in the schools of the prophets,because our captains were necessarily enforced to fight always in the front against the enemies to defend the faith,and to purge the floor of the church; so that they could not plant and water the fields and vineyards as they desired." (4)

A comparison of Perkins' casuistry with that of his Roman Catholic contemporaries makes it still clearer that his protestant inheritance had not been corrupted by his entry

1. Cases of conscience,Epistle dedicatory.
2. Jude,To the reader,says that he spent Sunday resolving cases.
3. It had 13 separate English and 6 continental editions.
4. Ames, Conscience,To the reader.

into an activity hitherto monopolised by medieval and Roman Catholic moralists. The works of the latter were still produced for the clergy, in order to help them in duties connected with the confessional, duties which began to increase with the revival of sacramental devotion fostered by the Jesuits. The decrees of Trent had eliminated some of the abuses which had led initially to Luther's protest, but the basic structure of penitential doctrine and practice remained, so defined as to exclude any suggestion of protestant errors.

There was also a great revival of moral theology and casuistry, due in part to the spiritual revival taking place in the Roman church, but influenced even more by a re-awakening of interest in Aquinas and a spate of enormously learned commentaries on his Summa, especially on the parts dealing with moral theology. These works, produced by Bannes, Soto and Medina, deeply affected sixteenth and seventeenth century moral theology, though they were defective in that they considered Aquinas' moral theology separately. This did nothing to break down the division which had developed between casuistry and other branches of theology, and the specialist popularisations of their huge tomes made the situation still worse,(1) with the result that Roman Catholic casuistry remained encumbered by notions derived from jurisprudence, was often over-

1. G.Sayrus,Flores decisionum,Venice,1601,was a popularisation of Azpilcueta, and had many of these faults. It rarely referred to scripture and read like a moral lawbook.

subtle and took too little account of living theology and ethics. This, added to the use of probabilism which became common among the Jesuits, helped lead to some of the serious defects which were so cruelly attacked by Pascal.

Perkins did not analyse sin in such detail as Roman Catholics like Azor and Medina, or base this analysis on the seven deadly sins or Decalogue.(1) Nor did he devote such detailed attention to problems about the sacraments and the conditions which made them valid. Some handbooks were based largely on church law and made little reference to scripture, though it must be remembered that they were specialised handbooks and, in theory, pre-supposed the whole framework of moral theology.(2)

1. J.Azor, Institution morales,3 vols.,Rome,1600, was the first moral theology in the modern Roman Catholic sense of the word. He discussed human acts,conscience and its problems, affections,habits,virtues,original justice,sin and the deadly sins,law,priesthood,worship,precepts of the church, and concluded with an exhaustive analysis of sin based on the Decalogue; B.Medina, Instructio confessariorum,Venice, 1601, treated penance,the 7 deadly sins,the 7 virtues, the 7 gifts of the Spirit,the 8 beatitudes,the 3 evangelical counsels,mortal and venial sins,examination of conscience, reserved cases,defects which made confession invalid, before treating the Decalogue and various types of sin. Book 2 discussed the power of confessors and their duties.
2. There are very few works which survey either this period of moral theology or its leading figures. DTC is brief and thin on the thought of scholars like Tolet, Medina and Azor. E.J.Mahoney,The theological position of Gregory Sayrus,Ware, 1922; P.J.Terhus,Zur Vorgeschichte der Moralesysteme von Vitoria bis Medina,Paderborn,1930; F.Pelster,"Kontroverse über die Methode der Moraltheologie,"Scholastik,1942,contain some useful material. B.Häring,Das Gesetz Christi,Freiburg-im-Breisgau,1959,47-69,has a brief survey of the period; L.Vereecke's study of Vasquez is valuable, but the best study is B.Häring and L.Vereecke,"La théologie morale de St.Thomas," in Nouvelle Revue Théologique,1955.

(iv)

The method and content of Perkins' casuistry were fundamentally different. He based his Cases of conscience upon the prophetic office of Christ, which included comforting his people. "As Christ had this power to execute and perform such a duty, so he hath committed the dispensation thereof to the ministers of the gospel."(1) They had authority to bind and loose conscience according to the scriptures, for these were the God-given means of ordering and directing God's vice-regent.

> "All actions that please God, must be done in faith; therefore all actions that please God, must have some ground and direction in the Word of God, without which Word of God there can be no faith." (2)

There was no situation in which the Christian could find himself "for which he hath not out of the scripture either a rule general or particular, or else some example to follow which is as good as a rule unto him."(3) Scripture revealed a certain knowledge to pacify and rectify weak consciences and spoke sufficiently "to the resolving of any mans conscience, in all matters pertaining to salvation."(4) When the will of God was so clearly revealed there was little need to discuss the problems of a doubting and erring conscience. Once the will of God was known obedience was the only possible response. "To dispute the case, and to consult with our friends, and to practice according to carnal counsel,"(5) was to invite the

1. Cases of conscience, 2.1.
2. Hebrews, 3.28; Martyr, Commonplaces, 3.5.9; Benoit, Calvin, 227-39.
3. Hebrews, 3.29.
4. Galatians, 2.188; Martyr, Commonplaces, 3.11.7.
5. Galatians, 2.180.

fate of Saul. Liberty of conscience was permissible only in things indifferent.

When the Bible played such a crucial role in directing conscience, it was vital to interpret it correctly. To distinguish between 'Law' and 'Gospel' was of fundamental importance, because not all laws were still binding on Christians. The work of Christ had freed them from the rigour of the law and from Jewish ceremonial law. What conformed to natural law, summed up in the Decalogue, continued to bind the Christian conscience.(1) The precepts of the gospel were binding without exception,(2) though Perkins did not interpret these ethically. Men were bound to believe their own election, justification, sanctification and glorification.(3) This evangelical commandment could be kept according to the intent of the Lawgiver, because the Spirit enabled the elect to obey. Legal commandments showed mens' disease, not their remedy.(4) Not all actions could be judged according to these categories. Occasionally commandments clashed, such as when a man on his way to church noticed his neighbour's house on fire. Two possible solutions were suggested by Perkins. Commandments from the first table of the Decalogue took precedence over those from the second, because obligations to God bound before obligations to men, though this would have been of little help to the man whose house was on fire.(5) In such cases charity

1. Discourse of conscience,1.519-21.
2. Ibid,1.521-5.
3. Ibid,1.523.
4. Ibid,1.524-5.
5. Ibid,I.520.

and necessity dispensed with the obligation to worship. Since there was no conflict between love of God and love of neighbour, it was lawful to fight the fire and miss worship.(1)

A distinction was also drawn between affirmative and negative commands, (such as, Thou shalt not commit adultery) the latter of which bound at all times. Affirmative commands only bound at suitable times.(2) Alms, for instance, were only to be given when circumstances were taken into account. In no circumstances was evil to be done for a good end, or the lesser of two evils chosen.(3)

Where problems arose which were not explicitly mentioned by scripture, gathering was to be used, and it was not difficult to include most problems under deductions from scripture, which were as binding as scripture itself. Thus Perkins rejected card playing, because it brought the religious use of lots into disrepute and aroused sinful affections which vitiated any recreation. Games which were partly chance and partly skill should not be used, because it was safer to abstain, rather than to destroy peace of conscience.(4)

Roman Catholic casuists generally rejected this principle, later called probabiliorism, on the grounds that it led to strictness. Perkins would have regarded this as an irrelevant critcism. How could one obey God too much when guided by the

1. Cases of conscience,2.108; Martyr,Commonplaces,2.3.13.
2. Armilla aurea,1.32.
3. Cases of conscience,2.115; Perkins was not consistent here. Sermon on mount,3.68, allowed usury as a lesser evil;cf. Galatians,2.297, on Abraham and his wives.
4. Cases of conscience,2.142.

Spirit and conscience? The principle of probabilism, first formulated by Medina, in which it was permissible to follow the opinion in favour of freedom, was by implication rejected.(1)

This attitude to the Bible as a moral lawbook was not without its dangers. If it was true that "whatsoever man doth, whereof he is not certainly persuaded in judgement and conscience out of Gods Word, that the thing may be done, it is sin,"(2) sensitive consciences could well be driven to distraction.(3) Perkins did not fall into this error, made it clear that circumstances were always to be taken into account,(4) stressed the place of prudence and moderation,(5) and concentrated his attention on producing people with good consciences, rather than laying down exactly what they should do in given circumstances.

The latitude left to individual judgement can be seen from his discussion whether it was lawful to fly in time of persecution.(6) He flatly rejected the negative rigorist position taken by Tertullian, refuting it by biblical examples. Eight general principles were then set down, all of which were

1. Mahoney, Gregory Sayrus, 59, points out that this principle was only applicable when the sacraments, eternal salvation and rights of a third party were not in question.
2. Cases of conscience, 2.12.
3. Hooker, Ecclesiastical polity, 2.1.2 ff. attacked the puritan attitude to scripture on this point, though Perkins could see no contradiction between scripture and freedom because of the consequences of the fall and the power of Satan, which necessitated detailed guidance from God.
4. Cases of conscience, 2.132.
5. Ibid, 2.114 ff; 2.135; cf. Epieikia, 2.452. (misnumbered 425)
6. Cases of conscience, 2.89-91.

to be taken into account before a decision was made.(1) A sensitive and scrupulous conscience would have found them exceedingly difficult to apply. Perkins clearly pre-supposed a person, one with Christ, who would know that "greater care must be had of peace and love, than of our own private affairs." (2) Here Christian experience and right instruction of conscience joined hands to produce correct decisions.

It was no use woodenly applying the same spiritual medicine to every case. As "an excellent chirugeon...at jointing a broken soul" (3) he knew the importance of individual treatment, of being able to recognise the chief spiritual ailments, and of capacity to go to the heart of problems.(4) Application of the law, repentance, the search for tokens of grace and the application of the promises were sure remedies for troubled consciences. Seeking to comfort them by promising them universal grace could lead only to despair or to licence. Rather the afflicted conscience was comforted by proving from scripture that it was within the covenant of grace, because otherwise he believed the afflicted would fear opportunities had been irretrieviably lost and would not dare to believe.(5)

1. There should be no hope of doing good by staying, public and private persecution were to be distinguished,a moderate mind was needed,withdrawal should be only for a time,flight depended on whether one was sure that one could not stand, was valid if due to expulsion. If bound by calling,or God cut off the way of escape one must stay. Once in prison, escape was not to be attempted unless deliverance came by an angel,Martyr,Commonplaces.5.p65-81 is more strict than Perkins.
2. Cases of conscience,2.117.
3. Fuller,Holy state,2.90.
4. Cases of conscience,2.22-48.
5. Sermon on mount,3.11; Cases of conscience,2.23-4.

Boundaries between ministers and doctors were not so carefully drawn as they are today, but Perkins pointed out the need to distinguish a genuinely wounded conscience from one which was due to melancholy. The former could be cured only by spiritual remedies, the latter was to be treated by medicine, though opportunities for spiritual improvement were not to be lost while the bodily causes of the trouble were being removed.(1)

Perkins' method of resolving afflicted consciences was thoroughly reformed. The content of his casuistry had little in common with Roman Catholic treatments except the title, and showed no sign of division between casuistry and other parts of theology. He did discuss matters which occurred in Roman Catholic handbooks,(2) but the weight of his cases lay elsewhere and included problems which would never have been discussed by Roman Catholic casuists. His chief aim was to ensure that men had a good conscience. This foundation laid, he set out the bases for behaviour, religious and ethical.

In his first section he discussed what a man must do to be saved, how he was to be assured in conscience of his salvation and the way in which this assurance should be restored

1. Cases of conscience,2.46-7.
2. Whether sacraments administered by heretics,idolaters,and insufficient ministers,be sacraments,or no? Whether if spiritual kindred be contracted by baptism,it can be a just impediment of marriage? Whether a man that is imprisoned may break prison? How far forth an oath doth bind, and is to be kept? Whether an oath extorted by fraud bindeth? Whether a compulsory oath bindeth? Whether do monastical vows bind,or no? Whether giving of relief be meritorious and satisfactory? The answers to these questions were uniformly in the reformed tradition.

when he had fallen through sin or afflictions. Having taken his readers through the steps necessary to acquire and keep a good conscience, he set before them the theological and devotional foundations for ethics in the second section. His order was not fortuitous. He established the existence of God, the divinity of Christ and the authority of the scriptures, and followed this with a discussion of how God was to be served. This included worship, prayer, hearing the word, partaking of the sacraments and the keeping of the sabbath. To place these foundation truths in sharp relief Perkins discussed some of the false answers given by Rome about worship, discussing adoration, confession of faith, oaths, vows and fasting.

It was not until the third section that he discussed the virtues and their implications. Unfortunately this section is incomplete, because he died before completing his lectures, but enough has survived, in other contexts, to show his opinions on man's behaviour in family, commonwealth and church, though it would have been interesting to have had these discussed at the end of his career, instead of having to rely on his early works.(1)

His realism and moderation recur throughout the section on the virtues, notably in his treatment of prudence and temperance. Prudence was the principal virtue, "yet itself must be ruled by an higher rule which the(y) knew not, namely, by spiritual understanding and knowledge, according to the

1. Cases of conscience,2.12, promised to treat these. Nor did he treat fortitude,2.114.

Word of God."(1) Following prudence firstly meant providing for forgiveness of sins and salvation of the soul. Perkins frequently struck this note, appealing to his hearers' self-interest, believing that only the elect would respond, but seeking to ensure that none were lost. Prudence included realistic assessment of the strength of spiritual enemies, following virtue before pleasure, not being taken in by pretences of other men and fitting oneself to the current of the times, as had the early church, for if they had not yielded on circumcision, the Jews would not have been won to the faith.(2)

More important still it meant that

> "if we cannot do the good things that we desire, in that exquisite manner that we would, we must content ourselves with the mean; and in things which are good, and to be done, it is the safest course to satisfy ourselves in doing the less,lest in venturing to do the more, which cannot be, we grow to the extremity, and so fail or offend in our action." (3)

Whatever we might say about Perkins' casuistry, we cannot fairly level the charge of rigorism, though we might disagree with his contention that the mean is provided by the Word, keeping men from the excesses of libertinism or preciseness, though this had respectable reformed ancestry.(4) Moderation was one of the keynotes of his casuistry and he insisted that "one mans particular example must not be a rule of direction to all."(5) Moderation did not mean a uniform and tedious

1. Cases of conscience,2.114.
2. Ibid,2.116.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid,2.109; Greenham,Works,134; Wallace,Calvin's doctrine of the Christian life,184-92.
5. Cases of conscience,2.132.

frugality, but was to be harmonised with Christian freedom, the duties of one's calling, circumstances of time and place, and care for the needs of others. With these checks on the capacity of the flesh for self-indulgence, Perkins could speak without embarrassment of using meat and drink "not sparingly alone, and for mere necessity,...but also freely and liberally, for Christian delight and pleasure."(1) The man with a good conscience, guided by Word and Spirit, sensitive about the glory of God and the needs of others, could use creation as God intended, with joy and rejoicing.

His discussion of the virtues was a valiant attempt to adapt Aristotelian virtues to protestant theology and ethics.(2) No mention was made of theological virtues, reached by climbing from nature to grace, some heathen virtues were flatly rejected as contrary to the gospel,(3) and the point clearly made that, while heathen virtues were possible because of the restraining grace of the Spirit, true virtue was "a gift of the Spirit of God, and a part of regeneration, whereby a man is made apt to live well."(4)

Perkins' Cases of conscience, and the cases which he resolved in other works like A resolution to the countriman, were not casuistry in the traditional sense, produced for a

1. Cases of conscience,2.131.
2. cf.De Félice, Daneau,177 ff., for an earlier attempt.
3. Cases of conscience,2.113, where his rejection of urbanity contrasts with his praise of it in Direction for tongue, 1.447.
4. Cases of conscience,2.113.

limited purpose and excluding all else.(1) They were an amalgam of systematic theology, psychology, moral theology, and what can best be called practical divinity written for the purpose of guiding ministers in their direction of conscience,and also to help intelligent Christians to steer their bark unerringly to the haven of glory. He depended heavily on previous thought and practice, and without the reformed doctrine of scripture, puritan interest in comforting afflicted consciences,and reformed ethical teaching would have found it much more difficult to combine this into a compact and systematic treatment.(2)

This aspect of his activity, perhaps more than any other demonstrates his genius as a populariser and systematiser. The timeliness of his approach was shown in the number of successors spawned by his introductory study. Not only did he produce many imitators and improvers in England,(3) but he also influenced continental scholars, both through translations of his works and through his pupil Ames.(4) His long pastoral experience,(5) deep evangelical concern, solid

1. Schmidt, ARG,1951,218, exaggerates the contrast between Perkins and reformed ethics when he speaks of an approach to Roman Catholic moral theology and of the consequent danger of a legalistic casuistry.
2. Kirk, Conscience,204, is not correct to say reformed casuistry "has none of the consistency and system of its Counter-Reformation sister."
3. Wood, English casuistical divinity; H.R.McAdoo,The structure of Caroline moral theology,1949, both have valuable material on seventeenth century developments in the subject.
4. PRE,"Kasuistik," only briefly mentions him,but no study of continental casuistry exists, mainly because it is all too often regarded as a theological blind-alley which it is profitless to examine.
5. Bolton, Instruction,230, called him that "other great artist in dealing with troubled consciences."

grounding in reformed theology and appreciation of some of the pitfalls into which medieval and contemporary Roman Catholic moral theologians and casuists had fallen, saved him from falling into legalism or rigorism,(1) without undercutting the seriousness of ethical decision and human responsibility.

Perkins' case-divinity was the only part of his popularisation that marked a new departure in theology, because of the context into which he fitted many commonly-held ideas, and the purpose to which he put the final result. His humble hope that where he led others would follow was abundantly realised. "Left he behind many affected with that study; who by their godly sermons, (through Gods assistance) made it to run, increase and be glorified throughout England."(2)

1. Mahoney, Gregory Sayrus,36, says that protestant casuists "lacking dogmatic principles and restraint of ecclesiastical authority, easily ran into the wildest puritanical excesses."; George, Protestant mind,238, also refuses to take puritan casuistry seriously and dismisses it as "self-righteousness."
2. Ames, Conscience,To the reader.

CHAPTER EIGHT THE CHRISTIAN AND HIS CALLING.

(i)

Faith and a good conscience did not only concern men's relationship to God; they changed their relationship to the whole created order. Casuistry and practical divinity brought theology to life, repaired the ravages of sin and began to restore God's order in family, church and commonwealth. Perkins did not undermine the primacy of faith in justification, but interpreted it as a life-long attitude, inseparable from love and new obedience. Works of faith included listening to the Word, partaking of the sacraments and prayer, but were seen also in care for the poor and living justly in one's calling.(1) Faith and love could be compared to two hands--"the hand of faith, keepeth him in compass, and stayeth the mind upon the Word of God: and the hand of love reacheth out itself to others in duties of love towards God and man."(2) God had graciously ordained society before the fall, because "it is not the will of God that man should live and converse alone."(3) To drive home to men that they were bound up together in the bundle of life, and to ensure that they did not think that religion was separate from daily life,"God that is invisible, will be loved in the person of our neighbour, whom we see."(4) Indeed "the principal end of our living here is to perform service to men, and in this service to do homage to God."(5)

1. Treatise tending,1.373-4.
2. Vocations,1.772.
3. Ibid,1.755.
4. Galatians,2.322.
5. Ibid,2.323; Vocations,1.757.

Men could not avoid living in society if they were to please God. Vagabonds and monks who avoided their social duties robbed men and sinned against God, who had foreordained that the world should be ordered through the labour of men living in commonwealth.(1) Since the fall, however, men had rebelled against God's order and attempted to use the world to gratify their idolatrous lusts. For their own good they were restrained by 'Law', so that even if they did not wish to serve others, they were prevented from exploiting them.

Perkins' thought on life in society was deeply influenced by continental theology. He drew on Luther and Bucer (via Tyndale and Bradford) for his distinction between the two regiments to which Christians belonged.(2) In the regiment of the gospel there were no social distinctions. Christ was all, there was no law except to love one another and joy and peace of conscience reigned.(3) Hate, anger, fighting and revenge were replaced by meekness, patience and humility. Downtrodden men were to pray for their persecutors, not resist them, because in this they were following the example of Christ on the cross. Subjection was not excluded, but it was a mutual obedience to the Word, and the authority of ministers did not include compulsion.(4)

Christians were to live by these insights in the temporal regiment where they were not private persons, but responsible

1. Creed,1.152,pointed out that labour was ordained before the fall, and was part of the natural order.
2. Treatise tending,1.394-5; Jude,3.536-9;cf.Rupp,Righteousness of God,286-309; Pauck,Reich Gottes,19 ff.
3. Treatise tending,1.394; Jude,3.537.
4. Ibid,3.536.

for others' welfare. Because they did not only live in the kingdom of heaven, but were also members of some commonwealth, Christians were either superiors or inferiors.(1) They were set in callings by God, and were bound justly to fulfil their appropriate duties under pain of damnation.(2) When love would not serve because of the wickedness and malice of Satan's instruments, Christians did not sin by having recourse to the law and to the power of the sword, if that was within the compass of their calling. There was no incompatibility between love of one's neighbour and arresting him in the King's name.

> "When need requireth,...you must go with the constable or like officer and break open your neighbours door, if he will not open it in the Kings name: yea if he will not yield in the Kings name, you may smite him to the ground till he be subdued, and look what harm he getteth, that be upon his own head." (3)

To be a citizen of two kingdoms brought tensions, but Perkins did not escape from these by an Anabaptist repudiation of the state, or by the papist error of subjecting the civil regiment to the rule of the spiritual.(4) This doctrine of the two kingdoms was used by Perkins to reconcile the orders of creation and redemption, and to demonstrate that God was not a split personality, but worked in all things for his own glory. Conflicts between the two regiments occurred only when the sinful or ignorant confused God's order. So long as men kept within the compass of their calling there could be no conflict, because God used individuals in their callings to order life in society.

1. Jude,3.537.
2. Treatise tending,1.394.
3. Ibid,1.395.
4. Jude,3.536-9.

There were two types of calling-general and special.(1) Calvin used this distinction,(2) but applied both terms to salvation. Other writers limited 'general calling' to justification and used 'special calling' to describe men's position in the temporal regiment.(3) Perkins adopted the latter usage and defined the 'special calling' as "a certain kind of life, ordained and imposed on man by God, for the common good."(4) This was part of his providence by which he ruled all things, because the world was like a clock in which all the parts worked together for a common end. In this analogy Perkins saw

> "a notable resemblance of Gods special providence over mankind, which is the watch of the great world, allotting to every man his motion and calling: and in that calling, his particular office and function." (5)

Unfortunately this orderly scheme of thing had been upset by the fall. Men retained vestiges of their former insights and powers, but were generally so corrupted by sin that they no longer rightly used their natural powers. Without the restraining grace of God in the form of magistracy, life in society would be intolerable, but that did not mean that all human life was worthless,(6) or that it was completely under the domination of Satan.

1. Vocations,1.752.
2. Calvin, Institutes,3.24.8.
3. Ursinus, Summe of religion,387; H.Balnaves,A confession of faith,Edinburgh,1584,198-204.
4. Vocations,1.750;cf.Martyr,Commonplaces,3.11.5.
5. Vocations,1.750.
6. P.Munz, The place of Hooker in the history of thought,1951, 37, writes in the Macaulay tradition when he asserts that "the foundations of puritanism lay in hatred; in hatred of the natural world, hatred of its social institutions and hatred of human nature."

God's order did survive, but it was obscured by the way in which sinful men refused to perform the duties of their calling, or else used their status for selfish advantage rather than the common good.(1) Salvation changed this by the gift of a good conscience which enabled men rightly to use the created order. There was no need to solve abuse by asceticism or flight from the world.(2) Keeping oneself within the limits of one's lawful calling was sufficient. By doing this men could be sure that they were doing the will of God and thus have such faith in the rightness of their actions as kept their consciences at peace.(3) This limitation and an over-riding sense of thanks to God brought home to men the need to avoid over-indulgence,(4) and enabled them to use the creatures with holy comeliness and delight (5) without self-imposed crosses that did nothing to remove the roots of sin.

The special and general callings needed to be combined to work the works of God. Without the changed heart given by the general calling, the special calling was nothing but

1. Vocations,1.751.
2. E.W.Hunt, Dean Colet and his theology,1956,108,has a striking quotation which expresses the traditional view.
3. Vocations,1.751; Chaderton, Sermon at Pauls Cross,sig.Cvb, linked keeping to a calling with faith and obedience to the Word. "Whatsoever any man enterpriseth or doth,...he must do it by virtue of his calling."
4. Hebrews,3.11, warned against over-indulgence,because it meant the death of God's creatures. This was not a basis for joy, but should move men to sadness, because it was a legacy of the fall. Cases of conscience,2.141, attacked bear-baiting for the same reason, not because it gave pleasure to the onlookers.
5. Sermon on mount,3.164.

the "practice of injustice and profaneness."(1) Conversely to practise the general calling without the discipline provided by the special calling was "the form of godliness, without the power thereof."(2) When the two callings were rightly joined, all the actions of a calling done for the good of others were good works,(3) and also provided an invaluable testimony to election,(4) because they were in accordance with the will of God who had placed men in callings for the service of others.

He had given varied gifts to different men to ensure that all needs of society were served, though there were some occupations which did not merit the title of 'calling', because they reflected human sin and lust rather than the will of God. Monks, beggars, vagabonds, idle nobles and their dissolute servants, usurers, playhouse owners and brothel keepers all fell into this category, and were cancers of the commonwealth. (5) But where men performed the duties of lawful callings "the action of a shepherd in keeping sheep,...is as good a work before God, as is the action of a judge, in giving sentence; or of a magistrate in ruling, or a minister in preaching."(6) Perkins believed that there were some callings which were socially more valuable than others. Master and servant, husband and wife, magistrate and subject, minister and people were all callings which were essential to society.

1. Vocations,1.757.
2. Ibid.
3. Sermon on mount,3.30.
4. Vocations,1.757.
5. Ibid,1.750,755-6.
6. Ibid,1.758.

Others like husbandman, merchant, physician, soldier and carpenter merely helped the good order of a commonwealth.(1)

All this was sound protestant doctrine descended from the fresh connotation given by Luther to 'calling' or 'vocation'.(2) Instead of limiting its application to clergy and monastics,(3) he applied it to all believers. Perkins was the first English scholar to write a book on the subject, basing his discussion on I.Corinthians 7.20, though this did not provide a solid exegetical basis for extension of Paul's usage to all callings. No previous writer had discussed the doctrine with such wealth of practical detail and application. The result was not so much a carefully developed dogmatic treatment, as an instruction for the edification of believing consciences which emphasised individual responsibility more than earlier treatments.

His audience was a student one which had some choice of calling. Hence Perkins exhorted them to choose rightly, so that their gifts and occupation corresponded, as God intended. Only callings which upheld family, commonwealth and church should be considered,(4) and where students had suitable gifts

1. Vocations,1.758; cf.Balnaves,Confession of faith,207,only mentioned the first group. Owst,Literature and pulpit,554, quotes a medieval sermon which said God made the clergy, knights and labourers, but the devil made the burghers and usurers.
2. cf.G.Wingren, The Christian's calling,1958,for Luther; A. Biéler, La pensée économique et sociale de Calvin,Geneva, 1959, gives the most recent discussion of Calvin's position.
3. Austin of Abingdon, The myrrour of the churche,1521,cap.I. for the traditional usage.
4. Vocations,1.755.

they should consider becoming a minister or teacher.(1) It was impossible to have the peace of conscience which stemmed from the conviction that "God hath placed me in this calling" (2) if one had in fact purchased the office. Men who entered callings this way were all too likely to sell justice to repay their outlay. Resignation was not necessary so long as this initial defect was overcome by right administration of the office. Perkins illustrated this contention by the rather dubious example of William the Conqueror, whose lawful seizure of the English crown was compensated for by the passing of just laws and the consent of the people.(3)

Though most moralists deplored the refusal of the lower classes to keep their place and thereby contribute to the order of the commonwealth,(4) Perkins was not against either ambition or some social mobility. These need not presage the collapse of social bonds.(5) They could be the will of God. Paul had spoken of the lawfulness of desiring the office of bishop, and where ambition was fired by a wish to serve God and men it was not sinful.(6) Indeed ambition was no less serious than the refusal to enter a calling for which God had provided gifts.(7) Nevertheless changes of calling needed to be care-

1. Vocations,1.759.
2. Ibid,1.760.
3. Ibid,1.762.
4. Owst, Literature and pulpit,314, for a pre-reformation attack on this.
5. Sermon on mount,3.180-1,related it to questioning God's providence. If men used lawful means they would always be adequately provided for. In this respect the animals put men to shame.
6. Vocations,1.776; Martyr,Commonplaces,3.11.5-6,for similar counsel.
7. Vocations,1.762-3.

fully scrutinised, because men had a lightness of character "whereby it cometh to pass, that many like better of other mens callings than of their own: and hereupon are moved upon every light occasion to alter their calling."(1)

Perkins saw no harm in a man owning more than one farm, because God did not intend all men to be of equal wealth. But he was much more hesitant to permit a man to practise two callings, even where income from one was insufficient for maintenance. He believed that this was inconsistent with living in a commonwealth, "for then one man shall hardly live by another,"(2) though this opinion owed more to commonly-held ideas about a fixed amount of trade which should be shared as equally as possible, than to any distinctively theological insights.

External appearances were not enough to ensure that a calling was being performed according to God's will. Though this included strictly confining oneself to the proper work of a calling, doing things which were necessary and profitable, and not taking a greater interest in the way others worked than in one's own affairs,(3) both the work and the worker needed to be holy. It was essential to be in right relation to God, but it was also vital for every action in a calling to be sanctified, "for lawful actions unless they be sanctified, are sins,"(4) -- an emphasis which revealed Perkins'

1. Vocations,1.773.
2. Ibid,1.763;cf.L.Humphrey,The nobles,sig.Fiiia.
3. Vocations,1.764;cf.Owst,Literature and pulpit,557-8,for a medieval parallel.
4. Vocations,1.766.

puritan enthusiasm for bringing the whole of life under the rule of God, an attitude which appears to be distinctive to English reformed theology.

When men performed their callings in this way, they would soon be driven to realise their inability to please God. "We must endeavour to have in our hearts, a sense and feeling of the want of Christ, and to see our damnable estate in our selves, and how greatly we stand in need of the blood of Christ."(1) Only through faith in him could men gain the additional assurance that their calling was acceptable to God, "and that he will give a blessing unto them for Christs sake."(2) With this certainty in their hearts they were freed from trivial cares, and strengthened to bear hardships and afflictions, because they knew that they were sent by God to test obedience. The unspiritual were only fair weather sailors who longed for a changed situation in the slightest storm, but the Christian rejoiced that God sent crosses to "pull down the height of our corruptions, and humble us to his own hand."(3)

No puritan ignored the problem of suffering and evil, or lacked intense seriousness when dealing with the ugly facts of sin, and the restraints which were necessary to prevent evil erupting. Labour and affliction in this life were part of the identification with Christ's death which was essential in order to die to self and the world. Men had no need to

1. Vocations,1.770.
2. Ibid,1.772.
3. Hebrews,3.65.

impose their own petty crosses. God sent ample trials in a calling to refine their faith, and to test the reality of their obedience to his Word when every human counsel cried out that it was madness to go on. Only those assured of their election would dare to carry on in such circumstances.

Yet no puritan stopped there. If faith was mixed with fear and consciousness of failure, it nonetheless convinced that the Christian's afflictions were not his alone,"but Christs also; he is their partner, and fellow sufferer."(1) The testimony of the Word about his union with the risen and ascended Christ was made to live by the Holy Spirit, and sealed by the sacraments and prayer. Redemption restored the right use of nature and possessions. Perkins attacked those who said that

> "our doctrine permits not a man to laugh,or be merry, or to do anything for his own delight; and hereupon they grow to contempt of religion,counting the profession and practice thereof preciseness; and therefore will not be bound unto it, but live as they list.(2)

It was lawful for men to be merry in the Lord, but the latter caveat was necessary, because sin soonest prevailed when men gave themselves to delight and pleasure. Nevertheless

> "God doth put most glorious colours,and delightsome smells into the flowers of the field, no doubt for this end that man might take his delight therein: yea,besides the skill of music,God hath given to many a man,a voice more sweet and pleasant than is the sound of any musical instrument,which were to no end, if a man might not therewith cheer up his heart in a moderate delight: nay,laughter it self is the gift of nature,which was in Adam before his fall, and therefore is lawful." (3)

1. Hebrews,3.145; Ibid,3.62-3.
2. Sermon on mount,3.62.
3. Ibid,3.63.

The ultimate Christian comfort was the hope of eternal life. Consequently, "we must not love the world, but love the coming of Christ, and every day prepare ourselves against the day of death."(1) This was done by measuring oneself by the square of the law and totting up a spiritual profit and loss account, not resting until certain that "the books in heaven are cancelled, and that God is content to account of Christ his satisfaction, as a payment for our sins,"(2) an emphasis which was part of Perkins' concern to rouse men to labour for grace to make their election sure.(3)

Preoccupation with death and judgement was far more than a puritan concern. A special class of literature to prepare men to meet their death, in case a priest was unable to be present, had developed during the middle ages.(4) Perkins and other reformed writers (5) wrote similar books, but with the purpose of preparing men for the victorious death which was a powerful testimony to a sanctified life, and for the death to self which was the best preparation for triumphant death.(6) Deathbed repentances were dangerous, for "no man

1. Galatians,2.164.
2. Vocations,1.779; cf.Greenham, Works,187.
3. Sermon on mount,3.132; Revelation,3.239.
4. M.C.O'Connor, The art of dying well,New York,1942,discusses their origin and contents. A typical specimen is Ars moriendi printed by W.De Worde,1505.
5. Bradford, Works,1.332-51; J.Melville, Ane fruitfull and comfortable exhortation anent death,1597; P.De Mornay, A Christian view of death and life,1593.
6. Galatians,2.215-6, points out that God kills to make alive and that spiritual life can be measured by the decay of original sin. "We must be as dead men in respect of our own reason and will, and we must tread them underfoot, making Gods will, our wisdom and will."

ordinarily can perform these duties dying, that hath not performed them living."(1) A salve for a sicke man was another part of Perkins' attempt to replace Roman error by catholic truth, though it had little in common with medieval handbooks.(2)

If men learnt to bear small crosses, they would be able to bear the greatest cross of all--death. Therefore "men should every day prepare themselves to death."(3) To live by the light of this truth was a constant stimulus to repentance, a restraint against immoderate pursuit of riches, and a constant reminder to labour for new life in Christ by putting the old Adam to death.(4) It was not a graveclothes piety, but one which, by placing the world in perspective, enabled men to live with moderation and contentment. "It is false, that religion breeds melancholy, and cuts off all mirth. It doth not abolish mirth, but rectify it: nay, it brings men to true and perfect joy."(5)

Fear of death insofar as it was a punishment for sin was permissible, but Perkins' concern for moderation, according to the mean provided by the Word, led him to set out preservatives to free men from immoderate fear of death.(6) Not only had God fore-ordained the time, but Christ promised deliverance

1. Salve,1.511.
2. O'Connor,Art of dying,215; she has a useful discussion of other English writers on the subject,191-215.
3. Salve,1.496; cf.Smith, Sermons,267-83.
4. Galatians,2.215-6.
5. Ibid,2.303-4.
6. Salve,1.503-4.

to the righteous because of their union with him, as well as comfort in death.(1) With a mind settled by these considerations, the dying Christian could attend the needs of those affected by his impending death, such as drawing up a will and being reconciled with enemies. Thus prepared, and with a life lived in preparation for death,it was possible "to honour God, dying, as well as living."(2)

(ii)

Perkins' treatment of vocation and life in the world was theological, though some scholars have distorted this side of his thinking, and over-secularised it in their attempt to establish a relationship between calvinism and capitalism.(3) Weber, who first suggested that there was a connection,(4) found many followers whose researches have cast much light on sixteenth century social and economic thought. Wright and Hill both pushed Tawney's re-statement of the Weberian thesis (5) into the sixteenth century, and suggest that Perkins played an important part in the transition from medieval social thought to that which existed at the end of the seventeenth century.

1. Salve,1.503-4.
2. Ibid,1.508. Perkins followed his own advice and drew up his will on 16th October,1602,6 days before he died.
3. Wright,HLQ,1940,181,calls Vocations"the best concise statement of bourgeois ethics in the Elizabethan period."
4. M.Weber, The protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, 1930,80,suggests that the new factor which related worldly and religious actions was "the valuation of the fulfilment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which the moral activity of the individual could take." P.Samuelsson, Religion and economics,1961,gives a devastating critique of Weber;cf.Biéler,Calvin,477 ff.
5. R.H.Tawney,Religion and the rise of capitalism,1938.

Certainly Perkins took a far more liberal attitude to usury than most of his English contemporaries, reflecting in this continental attitudes, and illustrating from another angle how strongly he was influenced by continental theology. Though he adopted traditional language when he called usury "biting lucre",(1) and attacked as avarice what was glossed over as thrift,(2) his definition of usury excluded much of the traditional content.(3) He did not believe that it was always wrong to take above the principal, especially when the lender took only what the borrower could recover by lawful means, though he insisted that the lender should not exact repayment if the borrower had made no profit, or calamity had prevented repayment on the due date. Debtors should give above the principal if they had had honest profit, if only out of thankfulness for the loan which had made the gain possible. Such payment also recognised that it might have been convenient for the lender to have had use of the money himself.(4)

This position was strict, but did not make business life impossible, and betrays no suspicion of the merchant as such

1. Armilla aurea,1.63.
2. Jude,3.551.
3. Roman Catechism,421; Armilla aurea,1.63,"Usury is a gain exacted by covenant,above the principal only in lieu,and recompense of the lending of it.";cf.Smith,Sermons,92ff. who was stricter.
4. Armilla aurea,1.63. Perkins rejected the Aristotelian position that usury was unnatural because money was unfruitful. Other reformed theologians also drew the distinction between usury and lawful interest. C.Hopf,Martin Bucer and the English reformation,Oxford,1946,122-6; Biéler,Calvin, 453-76; Ursinus,Summe of religion,989,allowed partnership,buying rents, just recompense and just contracts; Choisy,L'état chrétien calviniste,34-5, points out that the Geneva ministers were more liberal about interest than the Council.

which had characterised much medieval thinking. Perkins was opposed to drawing money without risk or labour, a practice which was contrary to God's ordinance to work by lawful means, a position which had something in common with the egalitarian ideas of the guilds.(1) Few preachers understood high finance,(2) and their condemnation of usury was usually directed against exploitation of small men (3) which had serious consequences in England's still largely agrarian society, where reserves of liquid wealth were limited and economic pressures cruel.(4) Perkins deplored the existence of usury and longed for a commonwealth in which lending was free, for "where there is no free lending, there many a man goes to wrack."(5) He was, however, realist enough to see that, given the wickedness of the human heart, there was

1. J.C.Riemersma,"Usury restrictions in a mercantile economy," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,1952, gives an admirable discussion; M.Mosse, The arraignment and conviction of usury,1595,27,31, took a position similar to Perkins, distinguishing interest and usury, and attacked those who wanted interest without risking their principal.
2. Musculus,Commonplaces,584a-6b, suggested that lending to princes was not so bad as battening on the poor.
3. Purvis, Tudor parish documents,200, suggests that usury did not occupy church courts till late in the 16th century, and that trials concerned small people, rather than merchants. H.C.White, Social criticism in popular religious literature of the sixteenth century,New York,1944,198, points out that usury was the most common preachers' enemy.
4. W.K.Jordan, Philanthropy in England,1480-1600,1959,68, says that about a fifth of the population were below the poverty line, and that the proportion rose during bad harvests.
5. Vocations,1.774.

little hope of abolishing it.(1) The most that could be hoped for was that legal limitations would restrain the worst aspects of human greed. Though he was almost alone in his attitude to usury, he still failed to give much satisfactory advice to troubled merchants who wondered whether they were sailing close to the rocks of economic sin. Any contribution he made to capitalism in this respect was by default. It is not surprising that business sheep wandered into fresh pastures, when they were neither restrained nor rightly guided by those who claimed to be the arbiters of morality.

Hill suggests that Perkins' stress on diligence and attacks on idleness (2) particularly appealed to the small employers who were his chosen audience,(3) but that they selected the parts of his teaching which qualified traditional attitudes to wealth and commercial activity, and ignored those parts which conflicted with their own interests.(4) Certainly

1. Cases of conscience,2.116,Sermon on mount,3.68; Musculus, Commonplaces,587b,thought the situation was beyond repair except by God,so that all that could be hoped for was that the faithful might be preserved from sin. T.Wilson, A discourse of usury,(ed.R.H.Tawney),1931,181,complained that ministers "cry out continually against all usurers with open mouth,and in all their sermons; and yet what avails it." Though Roman Catholics treated calvinism and laxity over usury as synonymous,(cf.Brereley,Sainct Austines religion, 195.) Jesuit casuistry was equally accomodating. H.M.Robertson,Some aspects of the rise of economic individualism, Cambridge,1935,103-10.
2. Owst,Literature and pulpit,555 ff.for medieval denunciation of this vice;cf.Homily Against idleness; T.Tusser,A hundreth good pointes of husbandry,1570,4b,7a,21b; Herbert,Priest to temple,cap.32.
3. Hill,Puritanism and revolution,218,223;cf.229,"Some amount of property and wordly security appears to be a minimum condition,without which salvation was impossible."
4. Ibid,230.This suggestion is supported by Smith,Sermons,110, who was reluctant to preach against usury because,"many hear by halves,and some for malice or ignorance,will take things otherwise than they are spoken."

Perkins saw no harm in the right use of riches,(1) but the qualifications he placed on their acquisition and use must have chilled the heart of enterprising merchants buying cheap and selling dear.(2) Nor is it entirely correct to say that the rising middle classes were his chosen audience, simply because he used commercial metaphors.(3) Many of these would have been understood by the simplest, and are simply good sermon illustrations. Perkins' chosen audience was a student one, though many from the town are reported to have attended his lectures at St. Andrew's.

Perkins' economic teaching contained little that was new to reformed theology, though the context in which it was given was much larger than Geneva or Strasburg, and shifts of emphasis could well have more widespread consequences. It is doubtful whether misconstruction of his teaching can really be called 'influence', except in a sense which is so broad that it becomes historically valueless. Undoubtedly he was influenced by his class background when he said that beggars were cut off from the commonwealth, but did not draw the same conclusion about idle nobles.(4) Perhaps when he attempted to prevent self-interested interpretations of a sufficient standard of living, and suggested that the safest rule was "the example and judgement of the godly, and grave men and women of our

1. Cases of conscience,2.125-9.
2. Vocations,1.771; Fruitfull dialogue,3.465-6.
3. Hill, Puritanism and revolution,229. The passage Hill quotes was preached in Christ's College.
4. Hill,Ibid,235, referring to Vocations,1.755.

estate and order",(1) he was allowing bourgeois society to set its own standards.(2) But this was the last consequence he intended, because he believed that the godly would have been so regenerated that they were no longer dominated by the spirit of the age. Calvinism did not just appeal to the rising middle classes, nor was their response largely conditioned by raging economic appetites. No doubt mixed motives led men to embrace Perkins' opinions about economics, but he cannot justly be blamed for the way his heavy qualifications about the use of riches were ignored, when neither he nor any other puritan had the means to enforce conformity to that which they believed was true and right.

Joined with the contention that Perkins provided some convenient spiritual ballast for the bourgeoisie, is the suggestion that his immense prestige, allied with the systematic form in which he presented his teaching, helped transform traditional attitudes to the poor.(3) Knappen writes of a chill that was spreading over puritan social teaching by the end of the century and suggests that Perkins was one of its chief causes,(4) a suggestion which Hill develops at some length.

Once again it must be pointed out that Perkins did not say

1. Vocations,1.769.
2. Hill, Puritanism and revolution,230-1, misses the reference to estates. Perkins was not just referring to the middle class.
3. Ibid,223,225.
4. M.M.Knappen,Tudor puritanism,Chicago,1939,412. This thesis is partly based on the idea that charity declined in Elizabethan England. Ibid,414. Jordan, Philanthropy, shows conclusively that the opposite was the case.

anything new, and though Hill recognises that Perkins inherited a considerable body of thought about poverty, he does not mention the important work by Hyperius The regiment of the povertie, which appeared before Perkins ever wrote a published line, and has the consistency, clarity and rigour which Hill regards as the peculiar contribution of Perkins.(1)

Even if Hill is right about Perkins' 'influence', it is interesting to see how much of Perkins' teaching on the poor the bourgeoisie had to ignore before they could use it to whip the poor into a convenient supply of cheap labour.(2) Certainly he did not see poverty as an essential part of true religion,(3) or teach that alms conferred spiritual merit, but like all his reformed predecessors he had a vision of a Christian commonwealth in which poverty was not merely ameliorated, but abolished.(4) Alms were a testimony of thanks and an expression of love which were not to be distributed indiscriminately, but through the church, so that really needy folk were helped and sturdy beggars were not encouraged in their idleness. The distinction between the needy poor and those who could work but would not, was fundamental to reformed thinking about the treatment of the poor, though in fact it can also be found before the reformation.(5)

1. Hill, Puritanism and revolution, 224.
2. Ibid, 224-6; Wright, Middle class culture, 182.
3. J. Tauler, The following of Christ, 1910, 154 ff.
4. M. Bucer, Du royaume de Jesu-Christ, (ed. F. Wendel), Paris, 1954, 141-50; Hopf, Bucer, 116-22, for his influence; Choisy, L'état chrétien calviniste, 245-8.
5. W. Harrison, Description of England, 1877, 213-20, suggests harsh remedies against the shiftless poor; Sermon on mount, 3.91-2; Owst, Preaching in medieval England, 294; Bucer, op. cit. 141-2.

Perkins did not ask, any more than other social thinkers, why it was that some preferred vagrancy to parish relief, and explained it in terms of sinful refusal to submit to the judgements of God, and to use the lawful means to remedy their condition.(1) There were large numbers of people on the road, some of whom were criminal, some of whom were merely the victims of economic fluctuations and enclosure, but whose activities alarmed the authorities and supporters of the status quo like Perkins.(2) The latter, however, was well aware of the economic pressures which were responsible for some poverty and attacked those who engrossed corn and rack-rented, though his later works lack the urgency of his earlier denunciations.(3)

His thinking about the poor was based on the doctrine of the communion of saints, in which mutual care was not optional, but obligatory.(4) He also taught that in times of need the poor had a title to part of the goods of the rich,(5) though their wants were to be relieved through magistrates and ministers.(6) Provision was especially to be made so that such

> "as do the duties of their callings diligently, and for all this fall to decay, wanting the blessing of God upon their labours, must be helped by lending freely, by forgiving of debts, and other like courtesies."(7)

1. Vocations,1.755,called the life of sturdy beggars that of a beast, but Sermon on mount,3.180, applied the same term to those anxious about wealth; Jude,3.539.
2. A.V.Judges, The Elizabethen underworld,1930,xiii-lxiv,has a valuable discussion of the problem.
3. Fruitfull dialogue,3.465-6.
4. Creed,1.310-11; Sermon on mount,3.89.
5. Vocations,1.775; Galatians,2.198; Sermon on mount,3.90-1.
6. Vocations,1.774; Sermon on mount,3.92.
7. Vocations,1.774; cf.A.Hyperius,The regiment of the povertie, 1572,59.

This was not mere expediency, but because Christ came to men in the persons of the poor, testing their faith and obedience. "The poor are the Lords collectors."(1) To be poor was no disgrace, but could help men to receive the gospel more willingly.(2)

Perkins did not envisage a society in which all distinctions were abolished for a community of goods. That would be an "Anabaptistical communion,"(3) but he emphasised that in cases of extreme necessity Christians were not only obliged to give what was left after providing for the legitimate demands of their calling; they must give of even what was necessary to life and estate.(4) Men's goods were not their own to do as they pleased with, but were the Lord's - entrusted to men as stewards.(5) Where men were using their possessions wrongly, there was no Christian alternative to submission, except the last Judgement.(6) In the light of this teaching, it is impossible to agree with the assertion of Hill that "the fundamental concepts of puritan thought are bourgeois." (7) We must conclude that Perkins' thought about the poor was typical rather than influential.

1. Revelation,3.311.
2. Galatians,2.197.
3. Creed,1.311.
4. Sermon on mount,3.90.
5. Ibid,3.89; for poor 'relief' in catholic France,cf.Biéler, Calvin,157-8.
6. Treatise tending,1.395.
7. Hill, Puritanism and revolution,236. He is also not strictly correct on the doctrine of the church he ascribes to Perkins,228-9. Perkins never mentions 'elders'.

(iii)

Another example of the influence of reformed rather than English thinking on Perkins' social thought is found in his teaching on divorce and re-marriage. The official Church of England position, laid down in the 1604 Canons, allowed divorce a mensa et thoro, but not a vinculo which would have permitted remarriage. Winnet suggests that there was no clear case of remarriage after divorce between the reformation and the 1604 Canons,(1) though the fact that Convocation in 1597 forbade remarriage after divorce would appear to mean that there were cases of which no record has survived. This attitude was basically the same as that of the pre-reformation church, purged of some of its technical details.(2)

There was, however, a more liberal tradition in the English church which dated from the marriage reforms contained in the Reformatio Legum. These permitted divorce for adultery, desertion, continued absence and extreme incompatibility,(3) and reflected the opinions of Bucer (4) whose ideas on divorce were more radical than those of most of the other reformers, who only allowed divorce for adultery.(5) He had taught that whatever was not true society was not true marriage. Ill-treatment was as serious a breach in this as adultery,

1. A.R.Winnet,Divorce and remarriage in Anglicanism,1958,52-5.
2. L.Vaux, Catechism(ed.T.G.Law),Manchester,1885,71,for the traditional position maintained by the Council of Trent.
3. Winnet,Divorce and remarriage,32-4.
4. Bucer,Du royaume de Jesu-Christ,150-231; H.Eells,Martin Bucer and the bigamy of Philip of Hesse,1924,20-43,gives a useful survey of Bucer's views.
5. cf.Martyr,Commonplaces,2.10.52-74;Wallace,Calvin's doctrine of the Christian life,163-4.

because marriage was for mutual companionship and help, though he insisted on fairly strict checks before divorce a vinculo was granted. Remarriage was permitted to both parties, though Bucer was cautious about allowing this right to the guilty party without clear evidence of repentance.

Perkins allowed divorce a vinculo for adultery, and remarriage for the innocent party after reconciliation had failed and there was no gift of continency.(1) He noted that in England it was impossible for the guilty party to remarry, but like Bucer allowed it if the innocent party had remarried and the guilty party showed genuine signs of repentance.(2) No other reason for divorce was permitted, even in civil law, because marriage was not simply a civil matter, "but partly spiritual and divine, and therefore God only hath power to appoint the beginning, the continuance, and the end thereof."(3) There were several grounds for dissolution, which could then be followed by remarriage. An unbelieving husband might desert a believing wife, and if reconciliation failed there was no impediment to the believer remarrying. Where both parties were believers, civil and ecclesiastical censure was to be used, or separation allowed if there was physical danger, but such cases of desertion

1. Oeconomie,3.687; Sermon on mount,3.69-70; Zanchius,Confession, 225; A.Polanus,The substance of Christian religion,Cambridge, 1597,287-9; Willet,Synopsis,526-8; Smith,Sermons,45-6.
2. Oeconomie,3.690.
3. Sermon on mount,3.70.

did not justify remarriage, unless the guilty party was contumacious. Dissolution and remarriage were also allowable in cases of malicious and spiteful dealing, "for this is as much as to betray one anothers estate and life to their utter enemies."(1)

Clearly Perkins was anxious to prevent marriage ending, but if there was no hope of salvage, he saw no reason why the innocent party should be kept from the joys of matrimony, and by implication rejected the official position of the Church of England for the more humane reformed position,(2) though it is interesting to note that he placed the weight of his grounds for remarriage on dissolution (3) rather than on divorce. He also gave a list of qualifications without which the vows de praesenti were invalid. These included lawful distance of blood, ability for procreation, legal age, freedom from infectious disease and freedom to contract the vows, and were all essential to the being of marriage.(4)

Perkins stated that in divorce proceedings there was "an equal right and power in both parties, so as the woman may require it as well as the man."(5) This is an interesting

1. Oeconomie, 3.687-8.
2. Winnet, Divorce and remarriage, 80, only mentions Cosin and Willet as supporters of this, and ignores Perkins. Willet, Synopsis, 528, claims to follow Beza, Hemmingius and Polanus.
3. W. Harrington, A commendacion of matrymony, 1528, sig. Bia ff. gives a pre-reformation list of grounds for dissolution.
4. Oeconomie, 3.673-9. In his discussion of consanguinity, which is typical of medieval handbooks on casuistry, he rejects the traditional position, including the impediment of spiritual consanguinity. Vaux, Catechism, 74, accepted it. For a reformed treatment similar to Perkins, Martyr, Commonplaces, 2.10.40-8.
5. Oeconomie, 3.690.

testimony to the improved status of women in England.(1) Though they were still denounced by moralists for the extravagances of their fashions,(2) they were no longer regarded as "the confusion of man, an insatiable beast, a continuous anxiety, an incessant warfare, a daily ruin, a house of tempest, a hindrance to spiritual devotion."(3)

Before the reformation, marriage had sometimes been regarded with a jaundiced clerical eye, and presented as a second best to virginity for those who were unable to contain their lusts.(4) Humanists and reformers changed this and gave marriage a new status in the kingdom of God.(5) In addition to restraining sin and continuing the race, it was also a reflection of the relationship between Christ and his church in which mutual love and companionship occupied an essential place. A host of books appeared which gave advice on the duties and responsibilities of marriage. Though they were not distinctive to England, they held an important place in English estates and conduct literature,(6) and more emphasis appears to have been placed on the importance of the godly family in England than elsewhere.(7) In writing one of the

1. L.Schücking,Die Familie im Englischen Puritanismus,Leipzig, 1929,40,mentions that this was better than in Europe.
2. Cases of conscience,2.138; A.Dent, The plaine mans pathway, 1601,43-4;cf.Owst, Literature and pulpit,390-404.
3. Ibid,378.
4. Vaux,Catechism,71,shows that even after Trent marriage was still seen only as a means of procreation and a remedy against fornication.
5. D.Erasmus,A ryght frutefull epystle,..in laude and prayse of matrimony,n.d.,sig.Cib,called marriage kept in chastity,"the most holy kind of life."
6. Wright,Middle class culture,200-27;C.L.Powell,English domestic relations,1487-1653,New York,1917; E.S.Morgan,The puritan family,Boston,1944.
7. Schücking,Die Familie,86-7.

most clear and comprehensive manuals on the subject, Perkins was an heir of an English tradition which descended from the middle ages.(1)

Marriage had been ordained before the fall to be "the fountain and seminary of all other sorts and kinds of life in the commonwealth and in the church."(2) Its purpose included procreation, the replenishment of the church, the avoidance of fornication. The partners were also helped to perform their callings in a better and more comfortable manner.(3) All men were free to enter it, and the attempt of Rome to enforce clerical marriage was diabolical, not to mention that it was without good historical precedent. Perkins' material for this contention was drawn from Foxe and Henry of Monmouth.(4) He did not, however, reject celibacy for those who genuinely had the gift for it. Single life had advantages in a sinful world, such as freeing men from household cares, removing fear of danger, and making them more fit to meditate on heavenly things without any distraction of mind.(5)

Puritan interest in the godly family was stimulated by the collapse of the classical movement, which to moderates

1. Cf Owst, Preaching in medieval England, 280; Lang, Puritanismus und Pietismus, 128-9, exaggerates Perkins' importance in this type of literature, because he has ignored his precursors.
2. Oeconomie, 3.671.
3. Ibid.
4. Problem, 2.575-80; Herbert, Priest to temple, cap.9, thought it desirable for the country parson to be single, though in the following chapter he drew an interesting portrait of vicarage family life.
5. Oeconomie, 3.671; cf. Calvin, Institutes, 2.8.42.

appeared a divine rebuke for exceeding their calling. They stressed that men should begin by reforming their families before they complained about lack of discipline in the church. (1) Perkins believed that "the only rule of ordering the family, is the written Word of God,"(2) and gave detailed counsel how family worship was to be used to sanctify household activities, because

> "the happy and prosperous estate of the family,which consisteth in the mutual love and agreement of the man and wife,in the dutiful obedience of children to their parents,and in the faithful service of servants to their masters,wholly dependeth upon the grace and blessing of God: and this blessing is annexed to his worship." (3)

Regularity was essential, for since

> "our hearts have plummets of lead,which are wordly cares and desires,to press them down from seeking up to heaven; we must do with our hearts,as the clock-keeper doth with his plummets,wind them up unto God every day." (4)

A correct spiritual environment was essential if children were to be brought up in a Christian manner. Religious instruction only mitigated the force of original sin and strengthened the light of nature, but it was not on that account to be neglected, as it frequently was. The result was that "it is so common, that children, so soon as they can crawl or lisp out a word; the first thing they can speak is to curse, or

1. Greenham,Works,88,said that if this was done,"they should see Gods manifold blessings in our land and church." R.Cleaver, A godlie forme of householde government,Epistle dedicatory, made the same point.
2. Oeconomie,3.669.
3. Ibid.
4. Hebrews,3.202.

swear, and take Gods name in vain."(1) Religious instruction prepared the mind for the seeds of the Holy Spirit, but while it was to be begun early, parents were to captivate their childrens' minds rather than compel them. Parental responsibility also included setting children to a useful calling and finding them a suitable marriage partner,(2) though Perkins allowed children a veto on their parents' choice if they felt that it was unsuitable.(3) Normally parents were the agents of God in bringing man and wife together.(4)

If family life was to be "a kind of paradise upon earth," (5) care had to be taken in the choice of partners. Besides mentioning the factors which were essential to a marriage,(6) there were other qualifications which were helps to its well-being, such as parity of age and condition, public approval and mutual Christian faith.(7) In addition it was important to know how to behave correctly towards one another once the vows had been sanctified by the minister and consummation.

Marriage was a communion of persons and goods for mutual help, necessity and comfort.(8) It included use of the marriage bed which was an essential duty of marriage and, when

1. Hebrews,3.109.
2. Oeconomie,3.693-5. B.Batty, The christian mans closet,1581, which was the translation of a continental handbook, was far more optimistic about education.cf.19a; cf.Zanchius, Confession,226-7.
3. Oeconomie,3.695. Knappen,Tudor puritanism,455,is incorrect when he says that no English scholar taught this;cf.Willet, Synopsis,535;Polanus,Substance of religion,273.(misnumbered 373.)
4. Oeconomie,3.685.
5. Ibid,3.670
6. Ibid,3.679.
7. Ibid,3.679-81.
8. Ibid,3.689.

performed with moderation, a holy and undefiled action. Not only did it give the gift of children and preserve the body in cleanness, but "this communion of married persons, is also a figure of the conjunction that is between him (Christ) and the faithful."(1) Perkins said that excess of lust in marriage was no better than adultery,(2) but he rejected the medieval view that intercourse without the purpose of procreation was sinful.(3) He saw a place for "an holy kind of rejoicing and solacing themselves each with other,in a mutual declaration of the signs and tokens of love and kindness,"(4) which shows that puritans were often far more balanced and realistic about the physical side of marriage than many who claimed to be their spiritual heirs.(5)

Perkins gave a positive role to marriage and broke with medieval dualism about sex, but did not envisage equality in marriage. He accepted the current opinion that women were frail and much more prone to evil than men,(6) and believed that God had wisely provided against this by providing for female subordination within marriage, a subjection which mirrored the saving subjection of all believers to Christ. There

1. Oeconomie,3.690.
2. Ibid,3.689; on moderation cf.Calvin,Institutes,2.8.44.
3. Ibid,3.671.
4. Ibid,3.691. Perkins cited the Song of Songs to support this, showing that puritans did not always resort to allegory to explain its sexual imagery;cf.Prophetica,2.648,for the allegorical interpretation.
5. Perry, Puritanism and democracy,230-1,has read little when he can say that the most notorious failure of calvinism was in its ethic of marriage, because it did not teach that companionship was part of its purpose! For a correct view,W. and M. Haller,"The puritan art of love,"HLQ,1941; G.Davies, "The puritan teaching on marriage and the family," EQ,1955.
6. Oeconomie,3.691.

was no intention to flatter male vanity, or to encourage domestic tyranny. A wife was to be loved and honoured, because in the beginning she

> "was not taken out of the mans head, because she was not made to rule over him; nor out of his feet,because God did not make her subject to him as a servant; but out of his side, to the end that man should take her as his mate." (1)

Consequently husbands were to suffer admonition and rebuke from their wives, and leave them to their own will and judgement in domestic matters. Wife beating was forbidden. If a wife became unbearable, she was to be haled before the magistrate, and borne as a cross sent by God.(2) Wives were to submit to the headship of their husbands, depending on their judgement and will.

> "For look as the church yields obedience to Christ her head, and yields her self to be commanded, governed, and directed by him, so ought the woman to the man. So Sarah is said, to obey Abraham, and to give him the terms of obedience." (3)

She was not even to wander abroad without her husband's consent, was to see that the children and servants were profitably employed, and that their bodily and spiritual needs were attended to.(4) The typical household for which Perkins wrote had

1. Oeconomie,3.691. Perkins quoted Aristotle to support his position.
2. Ibid,3.692; cf.Smith,Sermons,32.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid,3.692-3;700. The diary of Lady Hoby is an excellent illustration of how advice like Perkins was carried out, though his counsel was not new.Cf.Harrington, Commendacion, sig.Divb, for similar emphases before the reformation.

servants, whom Perkins exhorted to serve their master as Christ,(1) though masters were never to work servants beyond their strength, but pay them just wages, care for them in sickness and provide them with their due of victuals.(2)

There was one other aspect of his social teaching which owed more to his English environment than to reformed theology in general, and that was his opinion on keeping of the sabbath. Although he did not treat the subject with the detail of Greenham and Bownd, and his ideas were not extreme, they correspond to what is called, with varying degrees of emotion, sabbatarianism.

Early English reformers reacted sharply against what they believed to be popish legalism about the keeping of Sunday, and taught on the contrary that all days alike were to be used in the service of God.(3) When the Homily Of the place and time of prayer was written, opinion was changing, largely because of Bucer and Calvin who saw the value of setting aside one day a week for worship and instruction with as few competing attractions as possible,(4) though they did not draw a distinction between the moral and ceremonial parts of the fourth commandment. (5) Nor did they detail how the day should be kept.(6)

1. Oeconomie, 3.697; cf. Balnaves, Confession of faith, 238 ff; G. Cognatus, The office of servants, 1534.
2. Oeconomie, 3.696-7.
3. J. Hooper, Early writings, (ed. S. Carr), Cambridge, 1843, 338.
4. Calvin, Institutes, 2.8.28-34; Bucer, Du royaume de Jesu-Christ, 81-4, 114-6. For an early instance of sabbatarianism, E. G. Rupp, "Karlstadt and reformation puritanism," JTS, 1959.
5. Calvin, Institutes, 2.8.34, rejected it; cf. Musculus, Commonplaces, 69a, calls those who correlate sabbath and natural law 'sabbatharies.'
6. Bucer, op.cit., 82, said Christians should keep the sabbath more strictly than the Jews to glorify God and augment faith.

It is not clear why some reformed theologians felt that it was necessary to establish that the keeping of the sabbath was part of natural law,(1) or why English puritans began to take such an interest in the sabbath during the 1580's.(2) One reason may have been a desire to break the popular superstitions about holy days, for Perkins complained how no fairs were held on Christmas Day, but were held without compunction on Sundays.(3) More important was the puritan passion for sanctifying every detail of life for the glory of God. Perkins, for instance, taught that to keep the sabbath it was not only necessary to rest from the works of one's lawful calling, but that it was necessary to sanctify this rest.(4)

Even physical recreation was forbidden, because, like labour, it distracted from the worship which was the true object of the day. Works of necessity were not excluded,(5) but sanctification of the sabbath meant using the Word and sacraments, taking part in public prayer and in almsgiving. It was not enough to attend the legal minimum of worship and then to spend the rest of the day in riot and idleness. Private prayer, self-examination, humiliation and meditation ensured that the time was profitably used. Finally Perkins stressed that private works of mercy should be performed in "visiting

1. Martyr, Commonplaces, 2.7.3. is one of the first to make the correlation between sabbath and moral law; Cases of conscience, 2.106.
2. Rylands MSS 453, has a long discussion on the sabbath.
3. Galatians, 2.286, (misnumbered 288.)
4. Cases of conscience, 2.109.
5. Ibid, 2.110; cf. N. Bownd, The doctrine of the sabbath, 1595, 105-113.

the sick, in making peace between those that are at discord, in relieving the poor, in teaching and instructing the ignorant, in comforting those that are distressed." (1)

Knappen suggested that this teaching was distinctive to English puritanism,(2) but a glance at Bownd's margins shows that there were continental sources for the doctrine which have not been adequately explored.(3) Scholars like Andrewes and Greenham may have extended the practical implications of the doctrine, because puritans appear to have kept the sabbath with a rigour which was unknown in continental reformed churches,(4) but it seems more likely that they worked with raw materials of continental origin. Perkins believed that his doctrine kept the mean between too much liberty and too great strictness,(5) but the puritan future lay with the more rigorous analysis provided by Bownd.(6)

To exhort men to do good was worthless unless their hearts were first set right. Once this foundation had been firmly laid, Perkins believed that the Holy Spirit would lead men into new obedience to the gospel. The church was a "peculiar

1. Cases of conscience, 2.111; cf. Ursinus, Summe of religion, 947-52, who like Calvin, Institutes, 2.8.29-30, emphasises the imitation of God's rest. For an example of a puritan Sunday, The diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 62.
2. Knappen, Tudor puritanism, 442; see his article, "Lancelot Andrewes," CH, 1933, for an account of sabbatarian origins.
3. Dr. Collinson, King's College, London, hopes to publish an article on this.
4. J.K. Carter, Sunday observance in Scotland, 1560-1606, Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh, 1952, shows that there were similar trends in England and Scotland. A similar study is needed for English practice and theory.
5. Cases of conscience, 2.109; Jude, 3.518.
6. Heylyn, Aerius redivivus, 340, calls sabbatarianism, "the most popular infatuation that ever was infused into the people of England."

people severed from the world in profession, doctrine, and conversation," (1) and to live a life which was only partly obedient to the Word argued an unsanctified heart and dishonoured God." All our lives must be nothing else but a testimony of thankfulness for our redemption."(2) Failures and shortcomings there would be, but Perkins sought to instruct the consciences of his hearers so that these were reduced to a minimum, and men lived for God to the limit of their capacity, while they waited for the final judgement of God which would remove every injustice and affliction.

So far as the contents of Perkins' practical divinity and social thought were concerned, there was little trace of originality. It was the theological context in which he placed these ideas which gave them their influence and importance, and resulted in the note of intensity, effort to grow in grace, and keeping a pure conscience which was lacking from earlier English and continental writers, but which found many later imitators.

1. Sermon on mount, 3.21.
2. Galatians, 2.164; cf. Part 3 of the Heidelberg Catechism.

CHAPTER NINE CONCLUSION.

An adequate assessment of Perkins' influence would mean a detailed study of seventeenth century theology and practice from England to Hungary. This has not proved possible in the present study, so that some of the following can only be advanced as tentative suggestion rather than as certain conclusion.

His personal impact in the Church of England has always been recognised. Ames, who was his most famous pupil,(2) says,

> "I gladly call to mind the time, when being young, I heard,worthy Master Perkins, so preach in a great assembly of students, that he instructed them soundly in the truth, stirred them up effectually to seek after godliness, made them fit for the kingdom of God; and by his own example showed them, what things they should chiefly intend, that they might promote true religion, in the power of it, unto Gods glory, and others salvation." (1)

Fuller and Clarke are full of references to his influence on godly young men, and others like John Cotton and Thomas Goodwin spoke of his name with the deepest respect. When the latter came up to Cambridge in 1613, "the town was then filled with the discourse of the power of Mr.Perkins' ministry, still fresh in most men's memories."(3)

Numerous entries in Samuel Ward's diary show the admiration which he inspired,(4) though judging by the first reaction of Robert Bolton, his appeal was limited to the converted. To

1. Ames, Conscience,To the reader.
2. K.Reuter, Wilhelm Amesius,Neukirchen,1940,is the best study.
3. T.Goodwin, Works, 11 Vols.,1861-5,2.lviii.
4. Knappen, Two puritan diaries,130, refers to Perkins'"advice and direction to many ministers in the country, who did resort unto him from everywhere."

begin with he found Perkins a barren, empty fellow, and a very mean scholar, but once he had been humbled by grace, he spoke of him as one of the most learned and godly divines that the church had produced in years.(1) Others who felt the power of his preaching and writing were John Robinson, Thomas Newhouse,(2) Paul Baynes,(3) William Whateley,(4),Richard Blackerby,(5) Samuel Crook,(6) Bishop Bedell,(7) Richard Mather,(8) Thomas Fuller,(9) and Archbishop Usher.(10)

There are occasional hints of how ordinary ministers used his works. Benjamin Calamy's copy of Cases of Conscience was the most heavily marked book in his library,(11) and William Burton quoted him in his sermons.(12) The group of clergy who translated and edited his works were mostly important parish ministers or lecturers who disseminated his opinions widely in their writings, sermons and pastoral care.(13) He was also close friends with James Montagu and George Downame,

1. Brook, Lives of puritans,2.393.
2. W.H.Burgess, John Robinson,1920,48,59.
3. Peile, Christ's College biographical register.
4. Clarke, Marrow of ecclesiastical history,930.
5. Clarke, Lives of eminent persons,57.
6. Clarke, General martyrologie,202.
7. Jones, Life of Bedell,4,94.
8. Wright, HLQ,1940,194.
9. Houghton, Formation of holy and profane state,74-5.
10. Clarke, Lives of eminent persons,279,300, mentioned that Usher was deeply affected by reading Perkins on the sabbath, and that he longed to die the same holy death.
11. E.Calamy,An historical account of my own life,2 vols.,1.63.
12. W.Burton, The Christians heavenly treasure,1608,52b,59a,61a.
13. William Crawshaw,Thomas Taylor,Thomas Tuke,Thomas Pierson, Robert Hill,Thomas Drax,Rudolf Cudworth,Frances Cacot, Thomas Pickering,Samuel Ward.

both of whom later became bishops.(1) Some foreign students who studied at Cambridge were captivated by him. Wolfgang Mayer, Bucer's grandson, translated and edited many of Perkins' works during his ministry in Basle,(2) while the Dutch pietists Wilhelm Teelinck and Gisbert Voetius both made extensive use of his works.(3)

Evidently his books were highly regarded in the Netherlands for they were translated extensively and used not only by pietists, but also by scholars like Arminius. The latter spoke of previously published works of a "high character",(4) though he was disappointed with De predestinatione and wrote a lengthy refutation. Apart from circulating in France, Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands, Perkins was also translated into Hungarian, Spanish and Czech. His catechism was translated into Irish, but his main influence on the Irish church was through bishops like Bedell, Usher and Downame. Several important Scottish divines knew his work,(5) and he was also translated into Welsh, as well as being one of the most important influences on New England theology.(6)

Sometimes his works appear in unexpected quarters. His catechism was used in an English grammar published in Hamb-

1. Revelation, Epistle dedicatory; Peile, Christ's College biographical register.
2. M.Schmidt, "England und die Deutsche Pietismus," Evangelische Theologie, 1953.
3. Van Baarsel, Perkins, 300, 317-21.
4. Arminius, Works, 3.281.
5. G.D.Henderson, Religious life in seventeenth century Scotland, Cambridge, 1937, 118, 127-9.
6. Miller, New England Mind, 7; Wright, HLQ, 1940, 195.

urg,(1) presumably with the object of giving tender student minds something simple and spiritually profitable. East India Company employees could solace themselves with his writings,(2) while New England puritans translated him to help convert benighted redskins.(3) A Manchester merchant, Humphrey Chetham, left funds to provide copies of Perkins' works in the Bolton and Manchester parish churches.(4) Wright exaggerates when he says that his works were read by half England,(5) but his books were widely used,(6) and Broxholme testified that his Six principles "for above fifty years, have been much approved, and improved in the Church of England and elsewhere, for the instruction of many thousands in matters necessary to salvation."(7)

This extensive circulation makes him the first English protestant to become a best seller at home and abroad. In England Henry Smith has slightly more editions to his credit, but not abroad. Some of his predecessors like Jewel, Humphrey, Foxe, Fenner, Cartwright, Whitaker and Rainoldes were translated and published abroad, but according to Georgi, none of them reached double figures,(8) whereas the number of Perkins'

1. J.Wallis,Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae,Hamburg,1688.
2. Wright, Middle class culture,230.
3. Wright, HLQ,1940,194.
4. Wright, Middle class culture,78.
5. Wright, "The significance of religious writings in the English renaissance," JHI,1940,66.
6. Mr.C.Hill,Balliol College,Oxford, informs me that Perkins was one of the most quoted authors in seventeenth century England.
7. C.Broxholme, The good old way,1653,To the reader.
8. Georgi, Allgemeines europäisches Bücher-Lexicon.

works published abroad almost equals those published in Britain. His foreign editions were far more frequent than those of reformed contemporaries like Tossanus, Polanus and Zanchius. Nor did the works of any of his continental contemporaries enter England through translation during the seventeenth century in the numbers his works entered Germany, Switzerland, and especially the Netherlands. His works mark the beginning of the English practical divinity which deeply influenced continental theology and practice during the seventeenth century, though as yet no British scholar has studied the impact of the writings of Perkins, Bayly, Baxter and Hall outside England.

One of the reasons for Perkins' influence in Europe is suggested by Arndt, one of the precursors of German pietism. He complained that "everywhere there are books of controversies concerning doctrine, but very few living books concerning true regeneration and a Christian life."(1) Like Perkins he insisted on the need to grow in grace, "for the doctrines of Jesus Christ were taught, in order to be practised and transcribed into the lives of the hearers,"(2) though his writing lacked the theological solidity of Perkins', and was much more deeply influenced by medieval mystical thought.

Nevertheless there are sufficient similarities for continental scholars to have studied Perkins from the angle provided by his influence on pietism. Heppe was the first to

1. J.Arndt, True Christianity,2 vols.,1712,1.349.
2. Ibid,1.451-2; 2.585.

suggest that there was a relationship, and concluded from his studies of English theology that insofar as there was a father to pietism he was Perkins, because of his systematisation and popularisation of the ideas of other puritans like Whitaker.(1) Heppe, however, did not mention Smith, Chaderton, Greenham, Rogers, Dering, or Dent, all of whom had similar ideas to Perkins. Van Baarsel followed Heppe, and professed to discover Perkins' pietism in his conversion from a drunken youth.(2) Lang analysed the relationship more carefully, and listed the following features to justify the thesis:- religious individualism, a central interest in knowledge of election and conversion, the special role given to religious experience, zeal for individual souls and uncertainty about the place of the visible church.(3)

Perkins could hardly say more than that it was essential to be joined to the visible church,(4) even if he did not discuss its constitution. Zeal for individual souls can be found in Chaderton and Greenham,but never included emphasis on a moment of conversion as in pietism. The charge of individualism can carry little conviction when Perkins' social and theological teaching is given due weight. Personal application within his doctrinal system is a different matter from individualism.(5) The key points on which the argument turns are the place given to religious experience and assurance of election.

1. Heppe, Geschichte des Pietismus,24; Schmidt in RGG,"Perkins" omits Heppe's vital qualification, and baldly says that Perkins was the real father of pietism.
2. Van Baarsel, Perkins,258.
3. Lang, Puritanismus und Pietismus,126-31.
4. Creed,1.301.
5. Lang,op.cit.,126.

His writings reveal a deep evangelical experience, but he never ceased to stress that experience followed faith, which depended on the Word not feeling. None of his protestant contemporaries would have disagreed that experience of grace was as real as sense impressions,(1) but the intensity of piety in A treatise tending unto a declaration whether a man be in the estate of damnation or in the estate of grace and A declaration of the true manner of knowing Christ crucified is English. The writings of Zanchius, Ursinus, Olevianus, Beza or Hyperius do not have the same tone, though they do speak of 'uses' and 'fruits', (2) but Bradford had a similar piety. Not only did he keep a diary in which he recorded his failings , and refuse to pray for forgiveness until he had a feeling for his sins, but he was known to burst into tears in others' company because of the memory of his sins.(3) Perkins was not so emotional, but Treatise tending (which was based on Tyndale and Bradford) had much in common with this earnest, semi-mystical piety. Other puritans like Rogers and Greenham, to name only two, also breathed a similar spirit in their writings. Perkins cannot be called the father of this piety, but rather its heir who realised the spiritual assets of his forebears, and related them coherently to current theology and psychology.

Related to his teaching on the place of religious exper-

1. N.Hemmingius, The way of lyfe,1578,128-9,listed five properties of faith, the first of which was that it was felt in the heart.
2. cf.Olevian, Exposition of symbole,105ff.
3. Bradford, Works,1.33-6; cf.his prayers for sanctifying every part of the day.

ience, was his doctrine of assurance. If the effects of grace were measurable in terms of experience, it followed that experience testified to grace, because God's grace and man's response were joined by the covenant of grace.(1) His doctrine of assurance did not differ theologically from that of Zanchius, Ursinus and Tossanus, but his interest in practical application and use allied to puritan piety gave his teaching on assurance a more down-to-earth flavour. If later pietists ignored the theological framework on which Perkins built this doctrine, he cannot be held responsible for this. Ideas are not transmitted like an intellectual coinage whose origin is immediately obvious. Usage by others frequently gives them a new meaning, particularly when they are put in a different theological environment.

In fact none of the propounders of the 'Perkins was a pietist' thesis do justice to his strongly 'orthodox' reformed theology. He uses many of the terms found in Tyndale and Bradford, but they are used within a much more rigorously defined dogmatic framework which formalised and schematised earlier reformed theology.(2) The theological movement called 'orthodoxy' is usually held to have begun with Zanchius,(3) and is all too frequently treated with disdain by modern scholars, but despite tendencies to make form an end in itself, "there is also a real advance in the thinking out and systematising of

1. Jude,3.520,points out that the covenant was the foundation of assurance and obedience.
2. A comparison with Bradford's sermon on repentance and the same subject treated by Perkins in his Two treatises shows the extent of the change.
3. Köhler, Dogmengeschichte,2.84; RGG,"Orthodoxie,"; Polman, L'élément historique,262-3,also notices the change.

the implications of the theological principles of the reformation."(1) Calvin, Bucer and Martyr did not speak the last reformed theological word,(2) but left some matters unresolved, partly because they had a grasp of the biblical message which was not shared by some of their successors, partly because further study of their doctrines revealed unexpected problems which needed resolution if a firm front was to be presented against theological misunderstanding by friends and foes.

Perkins played an important part in this doctrinal development and his thought on grace, predestination, faith, scripture, church and sacraments showed signs of this redefinition and systematisation. Reformed theologians were determined that the presentation of divine truth should not suffer by arguments which by human standards were logically inadequate, or weakly related to revelation. All human knowledge was pressed into service of the gospel, for there were then none of the problems about the relation of reason and revelation which vex modern theologians, with the result that Perkins' theology has an intellectual solidity and consistency equal to anything written by his contemporaries.

Not only did he aim to remove mental obstacles to the acceptance of the gospel, he also sought to grip men's hearts by practical application, for he believed that knowledge which swam in the brain but failed to reach the affections was spiritually worthless. Nothing else could remedy the religious de-

1. R.S. Franks, History of the doctrine of the work of Christ, 2 vols., 1918,2.2.
2. Southgate, Jewel,167, is incorrect when he claims that Calvin gave complete expression to reformed theology.

clension in England. "We are not now that which we have been twenty or thirty years ago. For now we see the world abounds with atheists, epicures, libertines, worldlings, neuters that are of no religion."(1) Any remnants of papist superstition that appealed to the natural man must be banished from England if the church there was to take root and grow, and Perkins struck many blows on behalf of the Church of England by a series of works which presented theological truth that was both catholic and reformed. Sometimes he used old bottles to serve new wine, such as his Cases of conscience or A salve for a sicke man. On other occasions he did not turn the weapons of Rome against herself, but contented himself with an open statement of reformed truth, though in all cases his object was the same - to demonstrate that he was 'a reformed catholike'.

Fathers, schoolmen and reformers all served as grist for his theological mill, for

> "though the best mens works be but base stuff to the pure Word of God, yet the writings of holy men must not be condemned; but must be read and regarded in their place, for our furnishing and enabling to the study of the scriptures, for the helping of our knowledge and judgement in the Word of God: they that hold or practise the contrary, know not what helps they be, and what light they yield to many dark places of scripture." (2)

In the light of this principle he used not only Augustine and Aquinas, Bradwardine and Bonaventura, but also Beza and Calvin. Hill and Wright recognise Perkins' importance as a populariser,

1. Galatians, 2.225.
2. Hebrews, 3.104.

but it has not previously been clear how extensive this activity was. The pastoral theology of Hyperius, the historical erudition of Illyricus, the theological analysis of Zanchius, the moderation of Ursinus, the social vision of Bucer, the learning of Martyr and the controversial divinity of contemporary Roman Catholics like Bellarmine all entered into the content of the message he proclaimed.(1)

He was far more than a clever plagiarist of other men's views, and stamped his material with clarity, simplicity, deep pastoral concern, wide learning and sensitivity to the needs of his day. Though he did not introduce a radical change of theological perspective, his works consolidated existing thought and paved the way for fresh advances. There was no one centre around which his thought obediently orbited. Rather there were several great themes which kept recurring. Faith in Christ, obedience to the Word, covenant, labouring to grow in grace, assurance, a good conscience, moderation and expectation of the End were inter-woven to produce a combination of popular theology and practical divinity which appears to have had an extraordinary appeal in the seventeenth century, judging by the numbers of his works that printers thought it lucrative to print. Again and again he produced works which had no counter-part. Books like his Problem must have been a boon to earnest students and busy ministers anxious to keep in touch with the best theology of the day.

1. Fuller, Holy state, 2.91, mentions that Perkins had a gift for rapid reading and a very retentive memory.

There were serious weaknesses in his works, not least of which was his inability to appreciate and fairly expound opposing views, whether protestant or Roman Catholic. Arminius rightly took him to task for this on many occasions.(1) This defect did not only stem from Perkins' constant tendency to assume that his interpretation of scripture was identical with the Holy Spirit's, but also from his desire to simplify and clarify so that the simplest could understand the complex subtleties of the schools. Simplicity and profundity are given to few, and Perkins was not one of them. Frequently he only succeeded in skirting rather than in solving issues, and many of his 'solutions' contained serious ambiguities when they were examined by such astute theologians as Arminius.(2) Sometimes his refusal to engage in serious theological analysis could be excused on the grounds that it was better to be cautious about defining the undefinable, but more often it betrayed an inability to see fundamental problems.

Repetition was frequent and sometimes becomes tiresome, as does his determination to extract moral and spiritual instruction from the most unlikely theological material.(3) Though he denounced those who subordinated the Word to reason, he did not escape from the same fault. His doctrine of predestination went beyond the biblical evidence, and his emphasis on the sovereignty of God seriously distorted his understanding of

1. Arminius, Works, 3.488.
2. Ibid, 3.487.
3. cf. Creed, 1.174-5 with Ursinus, Summe of religion, 515-8; and Creed, 1.144 with Ursinus, 368-9, for example of Perkins' emphasis on 'use' where Ursinus was silent.

other aspects of God's revelation, such as his love revealed in Christ. Anxiety to be plain led not only to simplicity, but also to baldness and aridity which was not relieved by being copiously augmented by supporting battalions of texts from the scriptures. Armilla aurea and Prophetica were particularly bad examples, though in other contexts he frequently wrote passages of compelling power which, to judge by his contemporary reputation, deeply moved his audiences. His work has not worn as well as Hooker's, because he wrote a great deal more and lacks the majestic prose of Hooker with which to gild his now unfashionable theological pills.

Nevertheless within the limits set by his aim to be brief, simple, clear and practical, he had few equals among his contemporaries, and possessed "a distinct judgement, and a rare dexterity in clearing the obscure subtleties of the school, and easy explication of the most perplex discourses."(1) No other scholar in England matched him for the breadth of his theological activities in exegesis, polemics, patristics, casuistry, homiletics, hermeneutics and practical divinity. He does not easily fit into a typically 'puritan' pigeonhole, but forms one of a group of moderates who were neither 'anglican' nor 'puritan', but simply loyal and devoted Church of England men whose earnestness, scholarship and piety did much to root the Church of England securely in national life.

Knappen rightly calls him the puritan theologian of the sixteenth century, but adds that he cannot be compared with

1. J.Hall, Epistles, 1608, 72.

his continental contemporaries, least of all with Calvin.(1) Certainly Perkins was not the equal of Calvin, but he compares favourably with Daneau, Zanchius, Ursinus, Tossanus, Junius and Beza for both the scope and depth of his theology. Others may have surpassed him in particular fields, but the extent to which he was translated and read on the continent showed that contemporaries did not agree with Knappen. Perkins was the first English theologian in the sixteenth century to be of more than local significance, as well as being the key figure in the systematisation of 'puritan' thought and practice.(2)

It was not only puritans who suffered from intellectual poverty as Knappen suggests (3) --it was the whole English church. No other church outside Scandinavia had leaders of such limited theological ability, despite occasional episcopal bright spots like Jewel, Parker, Bilson and Sandys, while in the universities the situation was little better by comparison with Geneva and Heidelberg. Not until the end of the century did the work of Hooker and Perkins help to remedy previous deficiencies, for which the only remedy had been wholesale theological importation.

Though Perkins was essentially a theologian of the second rank, he was the nearest approach to a systematic theologian

1. Knappen, Tudor puritanism,375; Elton, England under the Tudors,424,"Puritanism was not in the main a theological movement: it produced no original ideas in theology and almost no treatises on divinity."
2. Hill, Puritanism and revolution,236.
3. Knappen, op.cit.,367.

to appear in sixteenth century England. His direct influence in England declined with the reformed theology which he represented, though his spirit lived on in disciples and in disciples of disciples, until it merged into the evangelical tradition which survived both inside and outside the Church of England. In New England his prestige lasted until the end of the century, while in parts of Holland his works were still studied at the end of last century. (1)

Perhaps the best sketch of his significance was given by Crawshaw who suggested that

> "the scope of all his godly endeavours, was to teach Christ Jesus, and him crucified, and much laboured to move all men to repentance, that as our knowledge hath made popery ashamed of their ignorance; so our holy lives might honour our holy profession." (2)

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1. Van Baarsel, Perkins, 301.
2. Exhortation to repentance, Epistle dedicatory.

APPENDIX ONE

Some corrections and additions to the Short Title and Wing Catalogues.

19649.I. - [another edition] Fol. I. Iohn Legatt, 1612. 2. Iohn Legat, 1609. 3. Cantrell Legge, 1609. C 10.

19650a - [another edition] Fol. J.Legatt, 1612, 1617, 1613. O.

19651a - [another edition] Fol. J.Legat, 1617-26. O.

19652-3b are one edition. J.Legat, 1626, 1631 and J.Haviland for J.Boler, 1631. O.

19655a - add after 'Legate': 'extant Londini apud A.Kitson.'

19663 - real printer [Joan Orwin or F.Kingston.]

19663.5 - [another edition] J.Legate, 1621. Hdn.

19665a - [another edition] 8vo. R.Robinson for T.Man and I.Porter, 1592. C 2.

19667 - real printer [Eliot's Court Press.]

- [another edition] 4to. Widowe Orwin for T.Man and J.Porter, 1597. O.

19670a - [another edition] Fol. I.Legatt, 1613. C, C 2.

19671a - [another edition] 4to. J.Leggat for S.Waterson, 1614. L, O.

19678a - A cloud of faithfull witnesses, 4to. H.Lownes for L.Greene, 1607. C 15.

19678 - not as given, but 'or a commentarie upon the II chapter to the Hebrewes'. Add 'for L.Greene,' after H.Lownes.

19687.1.- [another edition] 12vo. J.Legatt, 1621. C.

19688a - [another edition] 8vo. I.Legate, 1595. C 9.

19688.5 - [another edition] 4to (?). J.Legat, 1597. Folg. (This is possibly the same as that printed with Two treatises, J.Legat, 1597. O.)

19696 - [another edition] 4to. J.Legate, Cambridge, 1597. O. (Printed with Two treatises.)

19700 - printer [J.Wolfe.]

19700a - [another edition] 8vo. R.Bourne and I.Porter, 1593. C 9.

19702b - [another edition] 4to. F.Kingston for I.Porter and R.Jackson, 1597. O.

19705 - 'Legate' not Legatt. C^2.
19705.5 - [another edition] 4to. J.Legate, sold by S.Waterson, 1611. L.O.C.
19705.6 - [another edition] 4to. J.Legatt, 1616. O.

19707a - M.Perkins his exhortation to repentance out of Zephaniah. 8vo. T.C[reede] for W.Welby, 1605. C. C 2.

19080 - Foure great lyers, striving who shall win the silver whetstone. 8vo. R.Waldegrave. [c. 1585] This was ascribed to W.P. but is almost certainly by Perkins. L.

19710a - [another edition] 8vo. For T.Gubbins and I.Porter, 1592. C.
19718a - [another edition] 8vo. J.Legatt, 1627. C10.
19724a - [another edition] Fol. F.Kyngston for T.Man, 1606. C.
19724b - [another edition] Fol. F.Kyngston for T.Man, 1607. O.

19724.5 - A graine of musterd-seede. 8vo. T.Creede for R.Jackson and R.Burnell, 1597. Folg. (There is another edition of the same date at O. with H.Burwell not R.Burnell.)
19724.6 - [another edition] 12vo. J.Legate, sold by S.Waterson. [Cambridge.] 1603. B.Wolfe.
19725.6 - [another edition] Fol. F.Kyngston for T.Man, 1607. O. (Published with 19724b.)
19727a - [another edition] 12vo. I.Legatt, Cambridge, 1620. C.
19727b - [another edition] 12vo. J.Legatt, Cambridge, 1630. C.

19728.5 - [another edition] 12vo. J.Legat, sold by S.Waterson, 1603. Assington Parish Library.
19729 - 'Legate' not Legat.
19730a - [another edition] 12vo. I.Legatt, 1621. C.

19735 - 'J.Legatt', C 2. 'ed. secunda'. C 9.
19735.5 - The arte of prophesying. Translated by T.Tuke. 8vo. F.Kyngston for E.E[dgar], 1607. C 10.

19735.6 - The reformation of covetousnesse. 8vo. Nicholas Ling and John Newberry, 1603. Folger.

19735.7 - A reformed catholike. 8vo. J.Legat, Cambridge, 1597. P.

19080 - A resolution to the countri-man. 8vo. R.Waldegrave. [c. 1585] Though this is definitely by Perkins and is bound with Foure great lyers it has been omitted from the Short title Catalogue. L.

19746 - [another edition] 12vo. J.Legatt, 1621. C.

19747.5 - Satans sophistries answered. 12vo. (?) R.Field for E.Edgar, 1604. General Theological Seminary.

19748 - [another edition] Fol. M.Bradwood for E.E[dgar], 1607. O.

19751.5 - A treatise of the vocations, or, callings of man. 8vo. J.Legate, Cambridge, sold by S.Waterson, 1603. C 2.

19753a - [another edition] 8vo. Reueued and corrected by the author. T.Orwin for I.Porter and T.Gubbin, 1592. C 2.

19754a - [another edition] 4to. reviewed by the author. Widowe Orwin for J.Porter, 1597. O. C.

19754b - [another edition] 12vo. I.Porter and I.Legat, 1600. C 12.

19761 - real printer [R.Field]

19761a - [another edition] 12vo. J.Legat, 1611. O.

19762 - [1621?] Replace by '1621'.

19763.5 - A warning against the idolatrie of the last times. 8vo. J.Legat, [Cambridge], 1601. L. C.

19764 - [another edition] 8vo. J.Legat [Cambridge], 1601. C. C 2.

W.1573 - This work is not in the University of Illinois Library as stated.

W.1572 - This is by Sir William Perkins.

There are doubtless still further editions which would come to light if it had been possible carefully to examine all the existing copies of Perkins' works. The sheer number of his writings poses great problems for a would-be bibliographer, particularly when they are so widely scattered throughout Britain, the U.S.A. and various European countries.

The above list and Appendix Two make no claim to be anything more than a provisional list which may be of value to a future bibliographer in locating editions. I must thank Mr. F.S.Ferguson of the British Museum who is working on the revision of the Short Title Catalogue for the provisional list of additions and alterations to the section devoted to Perkins which he made available to me. It has been supplemented by Cambridge and Oxford catalogues.

Short Title Entries in Continental libraries.

19647 - Royal Library, Copenhagen.
19648 - University Library, Bonn.
19649 - Royal Library, Copenhagen.
The workes. Fol. London, 1612, University Library, Marburg. (There appears to be no STC equivalent.)
The workes, vols. 2-3, Cambridge, 1613-18. Royal Library Copenhagen. (There appears to be no STC equivalent.)
19652 - University Library, Kiel. (Lost in the war.)
19654 - University Library, Amsterdam.
The workes. Fol. Vol. I, 1635; 2-3, 1631. J.Legat and J.Haviland, London. University Library, Halle. (There appears to be no STC counterpart.)
19661 - A golden chaine, Edinburgh, 1592. National Library, Vienna.
19705.5 - An exposition of the symbole, London, 1611. Royal Library, Copenhagen.
19699 - Epieikia, John Legat, Cambridge, 1604. Royal Library, Brussels.
19682 - University Library, Geneva.
19734 - University Library, Munich. Landesbibliothek, Dresden.
19735 - ed. secunda. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
19735.7 - A reformed catholike, Iohn Legat, Cambridge, 1597. University Library, Uppsala.
19749 - Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
19749a - [another edition] 4to. I.Legat, Cantabrigiae, 1598. Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart. (This has no counterpart in the STC.)

APPENDIX TWO

WORKS PUBLISHED OUTSIDE BRITAIN, AND IN WELSH, OR IN IRISH.

Abbreviations.

NLW - National library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
UB Amst - Universiteitsbibliotheek, Amsterdam.
FU Amst - Bibliotheek der Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.
UB Basel - Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, Basel.
DSB - Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.
SUB - Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek, Bern.
BN Bern - Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse, Bern.
SB Braunschweig - Stadtbibliothek, Braunschweig.
BN Budapest - Orszagos Szechenyi Konytvar, Budapest.
LB Dessau - Landesbibliothek, Dessau.
LB Dortmund - Landesbibliothek, Dortmund.
LB Dresden - Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden.
TCD - Trinity College, Dublin.
UB Gies - Universitätsbibliothek, Giessen.
UB Gen - Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Genève.
RUB - Rijks Universiteit Bibliotheek, Ghent.
Georgi - T.G.Georgi, Allgemeines europäisches Bücher-Lexicon.
LB Gotha - Landesbibliothek, Gotha.
UB Greif - Universitätsbibliothek, Greifswald.
UBH - Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek, Halle.
UB Jena - Universitätsbibliothek, Jena.
MBK Murhardische Bibliothek, Kassel.
L - British Museum.
UB Leid - Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteits, Leiden.
LB Mun - Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.
UB Mun - Universitätsbibliothek, Munich.
Bod - Bodleian, Oxford.
BN Paris - Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
SK - Statni Knihovna, Prague.
EN - Egynazkerulet Nagyknoyvtara, Rakoczi.
MB Schaff - Ministerialbibliothek, Schaffhausen.
UB Stras - Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Strasburg.
LB Stut - Württemburgische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart.
UB Tub - Universitätsbibliothek, Tubingen.
UB Up - Universiteitsbiblioteket, Uppsala.
UB Vienna - Universitätsbibliothek, Vienna.
UB War - Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Warsaw.
SB Win - Stadtbibliothek, Winterthur.
Wolf - Herzog-August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.
ZB - Zentralbibliothek, Zurich.

The amount of information supplied varied and this is reflected in the entries. No doubt a search of small libraries would yield further editions, so that this must be regarded only as a preliminary to a full bibliography of Perkins.

Armilla Aurea, Cambridge, 1590.

Armilla Aurea: sive theologiae descriptio, mirandam seriem causarum salutis et damnationis hominum, juxta verbum Dei exponens. Adiectis iterata ista editione tabulis methodicis, ordinem capitum delieneantibus. Accessit etiam ad finem practica Theod. Bezae, pro conscientiis afflictis consolandis.
Conr[ad] Waldkirch, Basiliae, 1594.
8°, 232 pp.
UBH

[Conrad] Waldkirch, Basiliae, 1596.
8°, 236 pp.
Wolf.

[Conrad] Waldkirch, Basiliae, 1598.
8°
UBH

Conr[ad] Waldkirch, Basiliae, 1599.
8°, 236 pp.
UB Amst.

Con[rad] Waldkirch, Basiliae, 1614.
8°, 232 pp.
BN Paris.

De gulden keten, ofte, eene beschrijvinghe van de gantsche theologie, inhoudende ende verclarende het vervolch vande oorsaken der salicheyt ende der verdoemenisse der menschen, uyt ende nae den woorde Gods. Mit sekere bequame tafeln, waer in t'vervolch der cappitelen voorghestelt wort. Door Guilhelmum Perkinsum. Hier is noch by gevoecht een stucken van Theod. Beza om de bedroefde ghewissen de troosten.
Trans. Phil. Ruyl.
Gillis Rooman, Haerlem, for Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1606.
8°
UB Amst.

Amsterdam, 1651.
12°.
Georgi.

Trans. Phil. Ruyl. Amsterdam, 1657.
3rd ed.
FU Amst.

A case of conscience, the greatest that ever was, London, 1592.

Een geval der conscientie verlarende de swaerste questie die daer is: nameliick hoe yemandt weeten of kennen sal of hy een kindt Gods is.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1613.
RUB

The whole treatise of the cases of conscience, first part 1604, all three parts, 1606, at Cambridge.

Casuum Conscientiae decisiones. (3 vols.)
Trans. Wolfgang Mayeri.
Basiliae,1608-1609.
MB Schaff.

Aurea casuum conscientiae decisiones. Tribus libris comprehensae. Primo nunc recens ex lingua Anglica in Latinam conversa et cum reliquis ejusdem authoris scriptis---.
Trans. Wolfgang Mayeri.

Vol. I [xvi] 310 pp. [viii]	Conr[ad] Waldkirchii.
Vol. II [xvi] 496 pp.[iv]	J.J.Genathi.
Vol. III [viii] 351 pp. [viii]	Conr[ad] Waldkirchi.

Basiliae, 1609.
8°
SUB

Ethica Christiana, id est, aurearum decisionum casuum conscientiae Liber III. De Homine ad Hominem comparate considerato: quo eae quaestiones, quae ex consideratione virtutum emergunt, pertractantur. Primo nunc recens ex lingua Anglica in Latinam conversus, et ad reliquae eiusdem Authoris scripta diligenter rescensitus, ac magna accessione locupletatus.
Trans. Wolfgang Mayeri.
Basiliae, 1609.
8°, 351 pp.
SK

De casibus conscientiae, libri III.
Trans. Thoma Draxo. Guilielmus Antonius, Hanoviae, 1609.
8°, [vi] 614 pp.
UB Mun.

(Georgi lists another edition at Hanover 1603, but this is too early, and is possibly a misprint for 1608)

Casus conscientiae, Dat ist: Gewissens-Spiegel.
Trans. Henricum Sprüngli.
Genath, Basel, 1640.
UBH

Gewissens-Spiegel darinn zuersehen allerley zufälle des menschlichen Gewissens durch welche dasselbe mag angefochten werden.
Trans. T[homas] D[raxo].
Paul Zeising, Helmstädt.
Published Franckfurt and Leipzig, 1690.
UBH

Of the calling of the ministry, London, 1605.

Twee tractaten vande ampten ende waerdicheden des heylighen diensts: ende hier by ghevoeght een stucken van de cracht des ghebedts.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Dirck Troost for Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1610.
8o
UB Amst.

Johann van Someren, Amsterdam, 1622.
Fol.
UB Amst.

Twee tractaten van het Beroep des H. Diensts ....
Johannes van Someren, Amsterdam, 1662.
UB Greif.

A cloud of faithfull witnesses, London, 1608.

Breede uytlegginge ende grondighe verclaringhe over het elfste Capittel van den Brief des Apostels Pauli tot den Hebreen. Tentweeden, over den gheheelen Sendt-brief des Apostels Jude.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1612.
4o.
FU Amst. (Published with Jude and Specimen Digesti)

Een wolke van getrouwe getuygen, leydende na't hemelze Canaan; ofte een uytlegginge over 't elfde capittel tot den Hebreen.
n.p. 1662.
FU Amst.

(in a volume of commentaries Geleerde en godzalige uytlggingen.
H.Uylenbroek, Amsterdam, 1662.
FU Amst.

The combat between Christ and the devil displayed, London, 1606.

De strijdt tusschen Christum en den duyvel,of een uytlegginge over de verzoekingen Christi. Uyt de tweede verm. Engelsche druk, op cieuws in 't Duytsch gebracht ...
J[ohann] van Someren, Amsterdam, 1663.
Fol.
UB Amst.

A commentarie on the five first chapters of Galatians, Cambridge, 1604.

Number II in Geleerde en godzalige uytleggingen.
Amsterdam, 1662.
FU Amst.

The damned art of witchcraft, Cambridge, 1608.

Βασκανολογια , hoc est tractatio de nefaria arte veneficia; quatenus S. Scripturis explicatur et veritas eius quotidiana experientia comprobatur.
Trans. Thoma Draxo.
G[uilielmum] Antonium, Hanoviae, 1610.
8°, [xiii], 296 pp.
LB Dresden.

Tractaet vande ongodlijcke toover-const, voor soo veel die inde H. Schrift verclaert ...
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, t'Amsterdam,1611.
8°
UB Amst.

A declaration of the true manner of knowing Christ crucified, Cambridge, 1596.

Verclaringe van de rechte maniere om te kennen Christum der ghecruysten.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Laurens Jacobsz, Amsterdam, 1599.
8°
UB Amst.

Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Gillis Rooman, Haerlem, for Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1608.
8o.
UB Amst.

J[illis] Kok, Amsterdam, 1657.

8°
UB Amst.

A direction for the government of the tongue, 1593, Cambridge.

Lex linguae seu linguae componendae praescriptum, verbo Dei consentaneum, autore Giulielmo Perkinso, illustratis memoriae theologo.
Trans. Thoma Draxo.
Hieronymi Galleri for Levini Hulsii, Oppenheimii, 1613.
8°, 67 pp.
LB Mun.

Tractatus vere aureus de linguae regimine juxta Dei verbum.
Trans. Thoma Draxo.
[Guilielmus] Antonius, Hanoviae, 1614.
8°, 88 pp.
LB Dresden.

Eene onderwijsinghe voordraghende hoe men de tonge behoort te regeeren nae den woorde Gods.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Laurens Jacobsz, Amsterdam, 1600.
8°
UB Amst.

———————

Laurens Jacobsz, Amsterdam, 1603.
12°
UB Amst.

———————

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam, 1607.
8°
UB Amst.

———————

Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
J[illis] Kok, Amsterdam, 1654.
UBH

———————

Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
J[illis] Kok, Amsterdam, 1657.
8°. 3rd ed.
FU Amst.

Zungenleiter.
Trans. Henricum Springlium.
[Levini] Hulsius, Oppenheim, 1616.
12°
DSB

———————

Trans. H[einrich] Sprüngli.
G. Hamberger, Zurich, 1623.
ZB

Traktat Welmi platny ..... (p. XXX)
Prazskem, 1616.
SK

A discourse of conscience, Cambridge, 1596.

Anatomia sacra humanae conscientiae. Ex fonte Anglico in Alveum Romanum derivata et duplici prefatione, indice locorum S. scripturae, tabulis quinetiam novis methodice illustrata.
Trans. Wolfg[ang] Mayeri.
Ludovici König, Basileae, 1603.
8°, [xxxii] 266 [iii]
SUB

Anatomia sacra humana conscientiae Guilielmi Perkinsii Angli, Doctrina, Judico, candore praestantiss. Theologi: Qua ipsius Natura, Proprietates, ac Differentiae dextre produntur, cum curandi conservandique genuina Methodo.
Trans. Wolfgangi Mayeri.
L[udovici] König, Basilae, 1604.
8°, [xxxii] 266 [iii]
SUB

Een excellent tractaet van de conscientie: daer in gheleert wordt de natuere, eyghenschappen ende onderscheydentheden der selver ...
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Gillis Rooman,Haerlem, for Laurens Jacobsz, Amsterdam, 1598.
8°
UB Amst.

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam,1608.
RUB

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburgh, Amstelredam,1614.
8°, 5th ed.
UB Amst.

Notables considerations touchant la conscience humaine, tirées de la reigle d'icelle,&reduites en deux livres. Plus divers tractez. Le tout receulli, descrit, & nouvellement mis en Francois.
Trans. S[imon] G[oulart] de S[enlis].
P[etrum] and J[acobum] Chouet, Geneva, 1607.
8°, 383 pp.
Bod.

An exposition of the Lord's prayer, London, 1592.

Een uytlegginghe des Ghebedt des Heeren, dienende om slechte luyden te onderwijsen. Hierbij sijn oock ghevoecht de ghebeden Pauli, ghenomen uyt sijne sendtbrieven: met de uytlegginghe derselven.

Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1603.
4°.
FU Amst.

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam, 1605.
4°.
UB Amst.

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam, 1610.
4°.
UB Amst.

Korte uytlegginghe over de ghebeden des heyligen Apostels Pauli.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
[Jillis] Kok, Amsterdam, 1657.
8°. 3rd ed.
FU Amst.

Christliche und gründliche Erklärung der zehen Gebott und Gebets dess Herren:
Trans. Johannen Heupelium.
Guilielmus Antonius, Hanau, 1604.
4°.
LB Dortmund.

Christliche und gründliche Erklärunge der zehen Gebott und Gebets des Herren. Aus Gottes Wort, durch Wilhelmum Perkinsum. Itzt aus dem Niderland. ins Hochteutsche bracht. (In Catechismus, Hanaw, 1607)
Trans. Johannen Heupelium.
Guilielmus Antonius, Hanaw, 1604
8°, 211 pp.
Wolf.

Eene grondige uytlegginghe der thien geboden gods.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Amsterdam, 1603.
FU Amst.

Een grondige uytlegginghe der Thien Gheboden Gods gedaen door --. Ghenomen uyt sijn Goude Keten ende uyt de Engh. in de Ned. tale ghetrouwelijck overgheset.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam, 1605.
4°.
UB Amst.

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam, 1610.
4°.
UB Amst.

An exposition of the Symbole, or creed of the Apostles, Cambridge, 1595.

Eene grondige ende clare uytlegginghe over de twaelf artijckelen des Christelijcken gheloofs ...
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1603.
4°.
FU Amst.

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1605.
4°. 2nd ed.
UB Amst.

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1611.
4°. 3rd ed.
UB Amst.

Das Symbolum, i.e. gründliche und ausführliche Erklärung des Apostolische Glaubens Bekentnuss.
Trans. J[ohannem] Heupelium.
Hanaw, 1603.
4°.
MBK.

Hanaw, 1606.
4°.
Georgi.

[Eine grundtliche und klare Auslegung uber die zwolff Articul dess Christlichen Glaubens.] (Title page missing.)

8°.
LB Stut.

Gründliche Erklerung der Lehre von den H.Sacramenten, der H.Tauff unnd Abendmals unseres lieben Herrn Jesu Christi. In Engellʺand spraach beschrieben. Jetz aber auss den Niederlʺandischen ins hoch Teutsch bracht. (No equivalent English title.)
Trans. Joh[ann] Heupelium.
Wilhelm Antonius, Hanaw, 1607.
4°, 106 pp.
LB Dresden.

[Wilhelm] Anton, Hanau, 1644.
LB Dortmund.

A faithfull and plaine exposition upon the first two verses of the second chapter of Zephaniah, London, 1606.

Eene vermaninghe tot boetveerdigheydt uyt Zephania.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Clóppenburch, Amstelredam, 1610.
8°.
UB Amst.

[Jillis] Kok, Amsterdam, 1658.
8°.
UB Amst.

The foundation of Christian religion, London, 1590.

Fundamenta religionis Christianae.
1603.
8°.
Georgi.

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in Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae, by Johannes Wallis.
Gottfried Schultzen, Hamburg, 1688.
8° / 144 / 31 / 46 pp.
UB Up.

Catechesis: In quo initio sex firma et immota totius religionis Christianae iacta sunt fundamenta, instar brevis ac succinctae alicuius in opus ipsum introductionis. Deinde omnia et singula Christianae Religionis capita .. perspicuo commentario.
Trans. Johanne Lotichio.
Guilielmus Antonius, Hanoviae, 1608.
8°, [iv] 821 [ii] (includes Foundation, Creed, Lord's Prayer and part of Armilla aurea.)
LB Dresden.

Catechesis: deinde omnia & singula Christianae Religionis capita.
Trans. Johanne Lotichio Solitariensi.
Petrus Aubertus, Genevæ, 1611.
8°, 589 pp.
UB Basel.

Oculaire catechismus; Aanschouwelijk onderwijs in de Goddelijke waarharden, door Willem Perkins.
Editor C.Tromp.
Lisse, 1905.
FU Amst.

Catechismus. Auss Englischer Sprach in die Teutsche gebracht: In welchem Anfenglich Sechs veste Gründe und Fundament der gantzen Religion - gelegt sind. Demnach aber alle und jede Haupstück des Catechismi .... aussführlich erkläret werden.
Trans. Wolfgang Mayern.
Jacob Trew, Basel, 1606.
8°, [viii] 38 / 246 / 959 pp.
SUB

Catechismus des hochgelehrten, frommen und berümbten Herzen.
Jacob Trew, Basel, 1606.
8°.
UB War.

Hanaw, 1606.
Georgi

Catechismus oder Summa Christliche Lehre, das ist Aussführliche Erklärunge der Haupstücke Christlicher Religion ... auss Niderlandischen gebracht.
Trans. Johan Heupeln.
Wilhelm Antonius, Hanaw, 1607.
4°, 628 pp.
Wolf.

Sail Crefyd Cristnogawl--o waith W.P.
Trans. by E[van] R[oberts].
Richard Constable for George Calvert,London,1649.
NLW

Catechism Mr. Perkins, a osodwyd allan yn gymraeg ys mwy na thrugain mlynedd a deg gan Mr Robert Holland, -- ac ar ol hynny gah Mr. Evan Roberts -- Ac y nawr, drydedd waith -- gan ewyllysiwr da i Cymru.
With Agoriad byrr
Reolau Duwiol
1672.
(This title states that there is an edition about 1600, but no copy is now known.)
NLW

The Christian Doctrine, or the foundation of Christian religion. (Irish)
Trans. G. Daniel.
W.Bladin, Dublin, 1652.
4°.
TCD

A godly and learned exposition of Christ's sermon in the mount, Cambridge, 1608.

Seronmis (sic) Christi in Monte.
1603.
Georgi

Eene godtsalighe ende geleerde uitleggînghe der predicatie Christi op den Bergh ...
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Amsterdam, 1650.
FU Amst.

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in Geleerde en godzalige uytleggingen.
H.Uytenbroek, Amsterdam, 1662.
FU Amst.

De kragt des gebeds. Over Matth. 7.7.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
[Jillis] Kok, Amsterdam, 1657.
8°.
UB Amst.

A reformation of covetounesse, London, 1603.

Teghen die Gierigheyt. Geschreven opt seste cappittel Matthei vant negenthiende vers, tot het eynde des voorseyden capittels.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenbruch, Amstelredam, 1604.
RUB

Jan Evertsz Cloppenborgh, Amsterdam, 1616.
8°.
UB Amst.

A godly and learned exposition upon the whole epistle of Jude, London, 1606.

Ten tweeden, over den gheheelen Sendt-brief des Apostels Jude. (In 'Breede uytlegginghe ende grondighe verclaringe over het elfste capittel van den Brief des Apostels Pauli tot den Hebreen')
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1612.
4°.
UB Amst.

Een geleerde en godtvruchtige verklaringe over den Zendbrief Jude; vervattende LXVI predikatien.
n.p., 1662.
FU Amst.

IV in Geleerde en godzalige uytleggingen.
H.Uytenbroek, Amsterdam, 1662.
FU Amst.

A godly and learned exposition upon the first three chapters of the Revelation, London, 1604.

V. in Geleerde en godzalige uytleggingen.
H.Uytenbroek, Amsterdam, 1662.
FU Amst.

A grain of musterd-seede, London, 1597.

II in Vijf tractaten.
Amsterdam, 1611.

Het kleyn mostaert-zaedt, dat is, van het alderkleynste deelken der heylsamer genade Gods, 't welck in de menschen kan worden gevonden.
[Jillis] Kok, Amsterdam, 1656.
8°. 2nd ed.
UB Amst.

Het kleyn Mostaerd-Zaedt, dat is, van het alder-kleynste deelken der heylsamer genade Gods, t'welck krachtigh ter saligheyt zijnde, in de Menschen kan worden gevonden.
[Jillis] Kok, Amsterdam, 1657.
8°. 2nd ed.
UBH

Das geistliche Senffkörnlein.
Trans. Johann Huldericum.
(II in Zwey lehr-und trostreiche Stücke, Oppenheim, 1610.)
8°.
Wolf.

(II in Zwei lehr-und trostreiche Tractätlein, Bern, 1665.)
8°.
UB Greif.

Das geistliche Senffkörnlein, oder die allerkleineste mass der Gnade Gottes welche zum Heil und zur Seligkeit der Menschen genugsam seyn mag.
Georg Sonnleitner, Bern, 1669.
(II in Zwei lehr-und trostreiche Tractätlein, Bern, 1669.)
8°.
Wolf.

How to live and that well, Cambridge, 1601.

ΕΥΖΩΙΑ : hoc est de bene beatque vivendi ratione tractatus.
Trans. J[ohannen] H[eupelium].
Guil[ielmum] Antonium, Hanoviae, 1603.
8°, 63 pp.
DSB

Hoemen leven sal, end dat wel, in allen staten ende tijden insonderheyt: wanneer hulpe ende troost ontbreeckt.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam, 1606.
8°.
UB Amst.

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam, 1610.
8°.
UB Amst.

Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburgh, Amstelredam, 1624.
UBH

Recht edle kunst wol und christlich zu leben.
Hier[onymus] Galler, Oppenheim, 1610.
UB Basel.

Recht Lebens- und Sterbens Kunst.
Trans. Lucam Stockle.
P[aul] Zeising, Helmstedt, 1680.
(Includes Salve for a sick man)
8°.
SB Braunschweig.

Recht Lebens und Sterbens Kunst.
P[aul] Zeising, Frankfurt, 1684.
(With Artzeney wider die Fürcht und Schrekken des zeitlichen Todes.)
Wolf.

Az ember eletenek .....)
) (cf. p. xxxvii)
Patika Szerszamos Bolt ..)
Locse, 1637.

De praedestinationis modo et ordine, Cambridge, 1598.

De praedestinationis modo et ordine: et de amplitudine gratiae divinae Christiana et perspicua disceptatio.
Conradi Waldkirchii, Basiliae, 1599.
8°, 150 pp.
LB Mun.

Hanoviae, 1603.
UB Stras.

Conr[ad] Waldkirchii, Basiliae, 1603.
8°, 150 pp.
DSB

C[onrad] Waldkirchii, Basilae, 1613.
8°, 150 pp.
BN Paris.

Een tractaet, Christelijck ende duydelijck verhandelende de maniere ende het vervolgh der predestinatie Gods ...
Trans. Phil. Ruylium.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1609.
8°.
UB Amst.

Problema de Romanae fidei, Cambridge, 1604.

Problema de Romanae fidei ementito Catholicismo. Estque antidotum contra Thesaurum Catholicum Jodoci Coccii. Editum post mortem authoris.
Trans. Samuelis Wardi.
Guilielmus Antonius, Hanoviae, 1604.
8°, [viii] 528 pp. [viii]
SUB

G[uilielmus] Antonium, Hanoviae, 1611.
8°.
Wolf.

Problema dat is; een voor-stellinghe van het valsch voor gheven des Pausdoms dat het Roomsche gheloof het alghemeyne gheloof zijn soude. Als een tegengift ofte preservatif teghenden Catholijck schat Jod. Coccy ...
Trans. Eustathium Manglerium.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam, 1609.
8°.
UB Amst.

Prophetica, Cambridge, 1592.

Prophetica, sive de sacra et unica ratione coçionandi, tractatus. Nunc primam in Germaniae in luce edita.
Guilielmus Antonius, Hanoviae, 1602.
8°, 136 pp.
LB Dresden.

Prophetica sive de sacra et unica concionandi ratione tractatus nervosiss. In commodum ministrorum, omniumque Theologiae studiosorum conscriptus a praestantiss.
[Conrad] Waldkirchius, Basiliae, 1602.
8°, [xiii] 171 [iv]
SK

Prophetica; dat is Een heerlijck tractaet van de heylighe ende eenighe maniere van predicken.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Amsterdam, 1606.
8°.
FU Amst.

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam, 1609.
8°.
UB Amst.

A reformed catholike, Cambridge, 1597.

Catholicus reformatus: hoc est, Expositio et declaratio, quae ostendit quatenus Ecclesiae ex Dei verbo reformatae in multis ac diversis religionis capitibus cum ecclesia Rom. qualis eo hodie est consentiunt, ac in quibus ac quatenus ab ea dissentiunt, adeoque in quibus numquam ipsi consentire debent. Addita est brevis quaedam admonitio ad eos qui dediti sunt Rom. Ecclesiae, in qua demonstratur Rom. doctrinam pugnare cum fundamentis & articulis fidei, ab omnibus Christianis confessae ....
Guilielmum Antonium, Hanoviae, 1601.
8°, [viii] 446 [i]
LB Mun.
(The BN Paris has an edition of the same title, but with 447 pp.)

Guilielmum Antonium, Hanoviae, 1603.
8°, 2nd ed. [viii] 446 pp. [i]
UB Basel.

Hanoviae, 1604.
UB Stras.

Guilielmus Antonium, Hanoviae, 1608.
8°, 3rd ed., 446 pp.
DSB

De gereformeerde Catholijck. ...
Trans. Everard Boot.
R[ichard] Schilders, Middelburgh, 1604.
UBH

Een Ghereformeert Catholijck, ofte eene Verclaringhe bethoonende hoe naer dat wy de tegenwoordige Roomsche kercke comen mogen in verscheyden stucken van religie...
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam, 1605.
8°
UB Amst.

De Ghereformeerde Catholyck. Dat is: een verklaringe van d'overeen-stemminge ende 't verschil datter in 't stuck van de religie tusschen de Gereformeerde ende Roomsche kercke nu ter tijdt is. ...
Trans. Everard Boot.
Jansz Camerling, Enchuysen, 1633.
8°, 2nd ed.
UB Amst.

Der Catholische Reformirte Christ: Das ist Richtige Erklerung und Bericht wie nahe oder ferne die Kirchen so auss und nach Gottes Wort reformiert oder verbessert sind, in vilen und unterschiedlichen Religionspuncten mit der Römischen Kirchen, wie sie heut zu tage beschaffen übereinstimmen. Neben einer kürtzen Vermahnung. Alles erstlich beschrieben und an tag gegeben in Englischer Sprache 1597, darnach aber in die Spanische, folgends in die Lateinische, und endlich in die Teutsche sprache gebracht.
Trans. Johann Heidfelt.
Christoph Rab, Herborn, 1602.
UB Tub.

Herborn, 1608.
8°, [xvi] 433 pp.
SUB

(No printer) Herborn, 1618.
UB War.

Der Catholische Glaub. Das ist: Kürtzer doch gründtlicher Bericht von den fürnembsten Lehrpuncten der gennanten Catholischen Religion. Darinn erwiesen wird dass dieselbige in ihren fürnembsten Artickeln dem uralten Catholischen allgemeinen Catechismo, oder Hauptstücken dess wahren Christlichen Glaubens als dem rechten Probierstein entgegen und zuwider seye. Allen guthertzigen und der rechten Catholischen Religion begierigien Leuten zur Nachrichtung ausser dem Latein Teutsch in Druck gegeben.
Trans. Tobias Fabricus.
Niclas Schrammen, Newstadt an der Hardt, 1606.
8°, 40 pp.
UB Mun.

Le Catholique Réformée, c'est-a-dire une exposition et déclation de certains points, desquels les églises réformées sont en differend avec ceux de l'église romaine, composé

par M. Guil. Perkins -- avec un avertissement à ceuz de l'église romaine.
Trans. Osée André.
P. Le Febvre, Lyon, 1602.
665 pp.
BN Paris.

Catholico Reformado. O una declarcion que muestra quanto hos podamos conformar con la Iglesia Romana, tal qual es el dia de loy en diversos puntos de la réligion. Y en que puntos devamos nunca jamas convenir, sino paro siempre apartarnos della.
Trans. Guillermo Masson (William Massan).
Ricardo del Campo (Richard Field), [London], 1599.
8°, 326 pp.
LB Dresden

Jacob Wachter, Amsterdam, 1624.
12°.
L

A salve for a sicke man, Cambridge, 1595.

Myrothecium. hoc est de natura diversisque mortis generibus et de ratione bene, feliciterque moriendi, tractatus. Auctore Guilielmo Perkinso, Latinus et Belgicus factus.
Trans. C.B[ernhardo].
Guil[ielmus] Antonius, Hanoviae, 1603.
8°, 155 pp.
SUB (The LB Dresden says their copy of the same title has 154 pp.)

Salve voor een sieck mensche, ofte een tractaet vervattende de natuere, onderscheydentheden ende soorten des doots ....
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Laurens Jacobsz, Amsterdam, 1599.
8°.
UB Amst.

Amsterdam, 1602.
FU Amst.

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1604.
8°
UB Amst.

Gillis Rooman, Haerlem, for Jan Evertsz
Cloppenburch, 1608.
RUB

Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Kloppenburgh, Amsterdam, 1620.
8°.
UB Leid.

Euthanasia, die recht edle Kunst wol zu sterben.
Trans. Jacob Mayern.
Ludovicus K"onig, Basel, 1605.
UB Basel.

Rechte Lebens- und Sterbens Kunst.
Trans. Lucam Stockle.
[Paul] Zeising, Helmstet, 1680.
8°.
LB Braunschweig.

Artzeney wider de F"urcht und Schrekken des zeitlichen todes und wie ein Christ rechte Lust und Begierde zu demselben bekommen mogen.
Trans. L[ucam] S[tockle].
[Paul] Zeising, Frankfurt and Helmstadt, 1684.
8°, 181 pp.
Wolf.

La manière de bien et hereusement mourir.
Trans. S[imon] Goulart.
J[acobum] Chouet, Paris, 1604.
8°, 368 pp.
BN Paris. (In Remèdes contra la mal reiglé mespris, L'oubliance et la trop grande appréhension de la mort cuellis au jardin de vie par les auteurs nommez en la page suivant. (L.Treclat, F.Lansbergue, D.Toussain, W.Perkins)

J[acobum] Chouet, Genève, 1604.
12°.
UB Gen.

Satans sophistries answered, London, 1604.

De sophisterie des Sathans, beantwoort door onsen Heere Jesum Christum, ende in verscheyden predicaticatien verder ontdeckt ende verclaert.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1605.
FU Amst.

Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1610.
8°.
UB Amst.

Specimen Digesti, Cambridge, 1598.

Specimen digesti, sive harmoniae Bibliorum veteris et novi testamenti.
Guilielmum Anton, Hanoviae, 1602.
4°, 83 pp.
UB Vienna

———
Guilielmum Anton, Hanoviae, 1614.
4°, 2nd ed.
UB Gies.

Harmonie, ofte Cort begrijp de Ouden ende Nieuwen Testamants.
Trans. J. Pannelium.
Amsterdam, 1611.

———
in Breede uyt-legginge end grondighe verclaringe over het elfts cappittel van der Brief des Apostels Pauli tot den Hebreen.
Amsterdam, 1612.
UBH

A treatise of Gods free grace and mans free will, Cambridge, 1602.

De libera Dei gratia, et libero hominis arbitrio, solida et succincta tractatio.
Trans. Wolfgangi Mayeri.
Hieronymi Galleri, for Levini Hulsii, Oppenheimii, 1610.
8°, [viii] 150 pp.
UB Mun.

Een tractaet van de vrye genaede Gods, en de vrye wille des menschen.
Trans. H. v. Haestens.
J.Orlers, Leyden, 1611.
8°.
UB Amst.

———
I in Vijf tractaten,
Amsterdam, 1611.

A treatise of mans naturall imaginations, Cambridge, 1607.

Tractätlein von des Menschen natürlichen Gedancken, darinnen fürgestellst werden seine natürliche böse Gedancken ...
Trans. Georgium Heinium.
Cassel, 1667.

MBK

[Friedrich] Hertzog for [Johann] Ingebrand,
Cassel, 1668.

8°.
Wolf.

Trans. Georgium Heinium.
F[riedrich] Hertzog, for J[ohann] Ingebrandt,
Cassel, 1674.

A treatise tending unto a declaration, London, 1588.

1. How far a reprobate may go in the Christian religion.
2. The estate of a true Christian in this life.
3. A dialogue to the same purpose.
4. How a reprobate may perform all the religion of the Church of Rome.
5. The conflicts of Satan with a Christian.
6. How the word of God is to be applied aright unto the conscience.
7. Consolations for the troubled consciences of weak Christians.
8. A declaration of certain spiritual desertions.

1. 36 Vorstellighen thoonende, hoe verre yemandt kan komen in de belydenisse des H. Evangely nochtans bevonden worden in 't getal der godloosen ende verworpenen.
Trans. Johannis Wallesius,
Amsterdam, 1650.

FU Amst.

J[illis] Kock, Amsterdam, 1655.

2nd ed.
UBH

Theses, or Schlussrede, in welchem klärlich angezeigt wirt, wie weit ein Mensch in der Erkandtnüss und Bekandtnüss des H. Evangelij kommen, und fortschreiten möge, und nichts

destoweniger in der Zahl der Gottlösen und verworfennen seyn könne.
Trans. Johann Huldericum.
H[ieronymus] Galler, for Lev[in] Hulsius, Oppenheim, 1610.
8°, 89 pp.
Wolf.

2. Curriculum hominis christiani; sive status et progressus ejus inhac vita descriptis αφωριστικως : in quo explicatur, quotis gradibus, quantoque intervallo in pietatis negatio homines electi possint et soleant reprobos excedere et suprare.
Trans. Thoma Draxo.
Hieronymus Galler, for Levin Hulsius, Oppenheim, 1615.
8°, 99 pp.
LB Dresden.

Hieron Galerius, for Hulsius, Oppenheim, 1615.
(bound with Μετανοιολογια .)
8°.
LB Dessau

De standt eens Christen mensches in desen leven. Met aenwijsinge hoe verre de uytvercorenen den verworpenen inde Christenheyt te boven gaen, ende dat in vele graden.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Christof Guyot, Leyden, for Laurens Jacobsz, Amstelredam, 1601.
8°.
UB Amst.

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam, 1607.
8°.
UB Amst.

J[illis] Kok, Amsterdam, 1656.
8°.
UB Amst.

3. Een dialogue oft t'samen-sprekinghe vanden Staet van een Christen mensche. Vergadert uyt de lieflicke ende welsmakende schriften van Tindal end Bradford.
Trans. Will[em] Teelinck.
Adriaen vande Vivere, Middleburch, 1617.
RUB

Jan Everts Cloppenburch, 1619.
8°.
UB Amst.

J[illis] Kok, Amsterdam, 1657.
8°, 4th imp.
UB Amst.

5. Ein ernstliches Gespräch, zwischen ein Christen und dem Satan.

Oppenheim, 1610.
(Number I in Ein nützliches und lehrreiches Büchlein.)
Wolf.

De aenvechtingen des Satans: eene tsamensprekinge begrijpende den strijt tusschen den Satan ende Christen mensche.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Christof Guyot, Leyden, for Laurens Jacobsz, Amstelredam, 1601.
8°.
UB Amst.

Laurens Jacobsz, Amsterdam, 1603.
8°.
UB Amst.

Jasper Tournay, Enchuysen, for Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam, 1607.
8°.
UB Amst.

Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Gillis Kok, Amsterdam, 1656.
8°. 2nd ed.
UB Amst.

Ein ernstliches Gespräch (Number II in Drei nützliches und lehrreiches Büchlein.)
Sonleit, Frankfurt, 1660.
12°.
Georgi.

Georg Sonnleitner, Bern, 1666.
8°, 84 pp.
UB Greif.

6. Vorstellingen, vande rechte wyse ende maniere op welck een Mensch sal weeten Gods Heyligh Woort tot syner saligheyt sich toe te passen.
J[illis] Kok, Amsterdam, 1653.
2nd ed.
UBH

J[illis] Kok, Amsterdam, 1656.
8°, 2nd ed.
FU Amst.

Ein schöner trostreicher und nützlicher Tractat, wie das h. göttliche Wort zu eines jedlichen Menschen seele sol applicirt und zugeeygnet werden.
Oppenheim, 1610.
(In Theses.)
Wolf.

7. Vertroostinge voor beroede conscienten van boetveerdighe sondaren.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Laurens Jacobsz, Amsterdam, 1599.
8°.
UB Amst.

Gillis Rooman, Haerlem, for Jan Eversetz Cloppenburch, 1608.
RUB Ghent.

Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
J[illis] Kok, Amsterdam, 1656.
8°.
UB Amst.

Ein liebliches und trostreiches Gespräch zwüschen einem Prediger und Christen, darinnen einem betrübten bussfertigen Sünder kreffliger Trust zugebracht wird.
Georg Sonnleitner, Bern, 1665.
8°.
UB Greif.

Georg Sonnleitner, Bern, 1669.
(in Zwei lehr- und trostreiche Tractätlein.)
Wolf.

Ein trostreiches Gespräch allen zu viel erschreckten unnd zweiffelhafftigen Gewissen gantz nützlich zu läsen.
Trans. Wolfgang Mayern.
Johann Schröter, for Conrad Foillet, Basel, 1608.
8°, 204 pp.
LB Dresden.

8. Gründtliche Erklärunge etlicher geistliche Verlassungen Gottes.
(Number I in Zwey-lehr und trostreiche Stücke, Oppenheim, 1610.)
Wolf.

(Number I in Drei nützliches und lehrreiches Büchlein, Frankfurt, 1660, Bern, 1666.)
Wolf.

O Opusstenj Bozjm ..... (cf. p. xxxvi)
Praze, 1610.
SK

A treatise of the vocations, or callings of men, Cambridge, 1603.

Een tractaet van de beroepingen der menschen, mitsgaders de soorten ende rechte ghebruyck derselver.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Amsterdam, 1605.
FU Amst.

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1610.
8°.
UB Amst.

The true gaine, Cambridge, 1601.

Het ware gewin, waerdigher dan alle de goederen die inde werelt zijn ...
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1604.
8°.
UB Amst.

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam, 1606.
RUB

Two treatises, I. Of the nature and practice of repentance.
II. Of the combat of the flesh and spirit.
Cambridge, 1593.

Twee tractaten: I. Van de natuere ende t'betrachten der boetveerdicheyt.
II. Van den strijt des vleeschs ende des gheests.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Laurens Jacobsz, Amsterdam, 1599.
8°.
UB Amst.

Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1604.
8°.
UB Amst.

Gillis Rooman, Haerlem, for Jan Evertsz Cloppenburgh, Amsterdam, 1608.
8°.
RUB

Μετανοιολογια : id est erudita et salutaris tractatio, de natura et praxi resipicentiae.
Hieronymus Galleri, for Levini Hulsii, Oppenheim, 1615.
8°.
UB Up.

Hieron Galerius, for [Levin] Hulsius, Oppenheim, 1615.
8°.
LB Dessau. (Bound with Curriculum hominis christiani.)

Der Streit und Kampff dess Fleisches und dess Geistes.
Oppenheim, 1610.
(Number II in Ein nützliches und lehrreiches Büchlein.)
Wolf.

Bern, 1660.
(Number III in Drei nützliche und lehrreiche Büchlein.)
Georgi

Bern, 1666.
(Number III in Drei nützliche und lehrreiche Büchlein.)
Wolf.

A warning against the idolatrie of the last times,
Cambridge, 1601.

De idolatria postremi hujus temporis tractatio.
Trans. Wolgangi Mayeri.
Hieronymus Galler, for Levini Hulsii, Oppenheim, 1616.
8°, 252 pp.
UB Mun.

The workes (one volume) Cambridge, 1600.

Opuscula theologica varia: multiplici doctrina et consolatione cumulatissima.
Trans. Thoma Draxo.
Guilielmum Antonium, Hanoviae, 1608.
8°, [iv] 296 pp.
UB Mun.

Operum theolog. tractatus varii.
Genevae, 1667.
Fol.
LB Gotha.

Vijf tractaten van Meester Wilhelmum Perkinsum, namentlijck
I. Van de vrije ghenaede Godes ende de vrije ville de Mensches.
II. Van het cleene Mostaertzaeden.
III. Van de graeden der belijdenisse de H. Evangeliums.
IV. Van de maniere hoe een Mensch sich Gods heylighe woordt ter zalicheydt zal toe-eyghenen.
V. Van de schrickelicke Tooverije. Alles uyt de Latijnsche spraecke getrouwelick vertaelt.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amstelredam, 1611.
8°.
RUB.

Verscheyden theologische wercken Wilh. Perkinsi. Vervattende zeer profijtelijcke, leersame ende morale schriften, tot onderwijsinghe in verscheyden punten des geloofs.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz, Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1614.
8°.
UB Amst.

Opera theologica: Dat is, De Theologische Wercken M. Wilhelmi Perkinsi. Vervatende Verscheiden leersame

ende troostelyke Tractaeten ende uytleggingen.
Trans. Vincentium Meusevoet.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1615.
Fol.
UB Amst.

Opera theologica. (two volumes)
Trans. Thomas Draxo.
Petrum et Jacobum Chouet, Genevae, 1611.
Fol. MBK

P[etrum] et J[acobum] Chouet, Genevae, 1611-1618.
Fol.
UBH

Genevae, 1611-1628.
SB Win.

Genevae, 1619.
Wolf.

P[etrum] et J[acobum] Chouet, Genevae, 1624-1618.
Vol. I. [iv] 886 [36] xx.
Vol. II. [xv] 1245.
Fol.
SUB

(3 vols.)
P[etrum] et J[acobum] Chouet, Genevae, 1624.
Fol. 1786 [xxxviii]
UB Mun.

(2nd vol. only)
P[etrum] et J[acobum] Chouet, Genevae, 1658.
Fol. 1846 pp.
EN

Chouet, Genevae, 1668.
Fol.
UBH

Alle de Werken. (3 vols.)
Trans. H[endrik] U[ylenbroek].
Johannes van Zomeren, Amsterdam, 1659-62.
UB Greif.

Alle de wercken van Mr. Wilhelm Perkins ---. Waar van 't gheene in Duids ontbrak, is vertaalt. Voorts d'andere van nieuws naa't Engels overghezien. (3 vols.)
Trans. H[endrik] U[ilenbroek].
Jan von Someren, Amsterdam, 1659-1663.
Fol.
UB Amst.

Cyfarwydd-de i'r Anghyfarwydd. (A directory for the unaccustomed.)
Plus: Agoriad byrr ar Weddi'r Arglwydd. (A short introduction to the Lord's prayer.)
Amryw Reolau Duwiol (Several religious rules).
n.p. 1677.
NLW

Breede uytlegginge ende grondighe verclaringe over het elfste capittel van den Brief des Apostels Pauli tot den Hebreen. Ten Tweeden, over den gheheelen Sendt-Brief des Apostels Jude. Wt de Eng. spraecke in onse Nerd. tale ghetrouwelick overgheset door Vinc. Meusevoet. Hier is oock by ghevoecht, W.Perkinsi Harmonie ofte cort begrijp des Oude ende Nieuwen Testaments. Wt het Lat. vert.
Trans. J. Pannelium.
Jan Evertsz Cloppenburch, Amsterdam, 1612.
4o.
UB Amst.

Geleerde en godzalige uytleggingen.
I. Over't 5e, 6e en 7e capittel van Matth.
II. Over den Zendbrief aan de Galaters.
III. Over 't IIe capittel aan de Hebreen.
IV. Over den Zendbrief Jude.
V. Over de 3 eerste capittelen van de Openbaringe Joannis.
Van nieuws ten deele vert. en overgezien na 't Englesch.
Trans. H. Uylenbroeck.
Amsterdam, 1662.
FU Amst.

Kurtz und gründliche Erörterung etlicher wichtigen Fragen von der Bekanntnuss des seligmachenden Glaubens an Jesum Christum, aus dem Latein....
Trans. H[einrich] Sprüngli.
G. Hamberger, Zürich, 1623.
ZB

Nothwendiger und gründlicher Bericht - von der heylsamen und seligmachenden Erkandtnüss Jesu Christi unsers Heylands.
Trans. Johan. Huldericum.
Hieronymus Galler, for Levin Hulsius, Oppenheim, 1610.
8o, 89 pp.
LB Dresden.

Urim en thummim, dat is: lichten en volmaaktheden. Bestaande in eene korte en heerlijke beschrijvinghe van de vornaamste stukken der christelijke godts-dienst en oeffeninghen inde god-zahligheidt, enz. Getrokken uit alle de vortreffelijke tractaten van --.
Petr. de Lange, for Abr. de Wees and Baltus de Wild', Amstel-dam, 1658.
4°.
UB Amst.

Ein nützliches und Lehrreiches Büchlein. Darinnen zufinden I. Ein ernstliches Gespräch zwischen einem Christen und dem Satan. II. Der Streit und Kampff dess Fleisches und dess Geistes.
Trans. Johan Huldericum.
Hieronymus Galler, for Lev[in] Hulsius, Oppenheim, 1610.
8°, 93 pp.
Wolf.

Drei nützliche und lehrreiche Büchlein.
1660.
12°.
Georgi.

Drei nützliche und lehrreiche Büchlein, Guilielmi Perkinsii. I. Gründtliche Erklarung etlicher geistlicher Verlassungen, alle träge und schlafferige Evangelische damit zu erschrecken.
II. Ein ernstliches Gespräch zwischen einem Christen und dem Satan.
III. Der Streit und Kampff de Fleisches und Geistes.
Georg Sonnleitner, Bern, 1666.
8°, 84 pp.
UB Greif.

Zwey lehr- und trostreiche Stücke.
I. Gründtliche Erklärung etlicher geistliche Verlassungen Gottes.
II. Das geistliche Senffkörnlein.
Trans. Johann Huldericum.
Hieronymus Galler, for Levin Hulsius, Oppenheim, 1610.
8°, 135 pp.
Wolf.

Zwei lehr- und trostreiche Tractätlein.
I. Ein liebliches und trostreiches Gespräch zwischen einem Prediger und Christen.

II. Das geistliche Senfkörnlein.
Georg Sonnleitner, Bern, 1665.
UB Greif.

I. Ein liebliches und trostreiches Gespräch zwüschen einem Prediger und Christen, darinnen einem betrübten bussfertigen Sünder kreffliger Trost zugebracht wird.
II. Das Geistliche Senffkörnlein oder die allerkleineste mass der Gnade Gottes welche zum Heil und zur Seligkeit der Menschen genugsam seyn mag.
Georg Sonnleitner, Bern, 1669.
8°, 239 pp.
Wolf.

O Opusstenj Bozjm, Knjzka sepsana nekdy od Gwilielma Perkinsa, w Jazkyu Englickem, potom q Latinsky prelozena, od Thoma Draxo: vzitecna k probuzeni ... Nynj na Czesko prelozena od K. Girzjka Oeconoma.
Praze, 1610.
SK

Traktat trogj kratky Wilhelma Perkynsa, ku potessenj zarmaucenych kagjcych Lidij.
Trans. (from the Latin of T. Drax) Symeona Walecya Launskeho.
Mateg Pardubsky, Prazskem, 1612.
SK

Mateg Pardubsky, Prazskem, 1613.
SK

Traktat welmi platny a vzitecny o Sprawe Jazyka, neyprwe w Englickem Jazyku wedle Slowa Bozjho sebrany od Wilhelma Perkynsa Muze oswjceneho Potom zase do Letinskeho prlozeny od Tomasse Draxa swatych Pjsem vcitele. Neyposleze pak w Czeskem Jazyku proste....
Trans. Symeona Valecia Launskeho.
Mateg Pardubskeho, Prazskem, 1616.
SK

Ama Szent Iras fejtegeteseben hatalmas es igen tudos doktornak - nak a lelki-ismeret nek akadekirol irott draga szep tanitasanak elso konyveben, az akarmi okbol meg-felemlett es rettego lelki-ismeretnek meg-vigasztalasara es gyogyitasara le-tott istenes orvoslasi. Act 24.16, Ebben pedig magam gyakorlom hogy botrankozsnekul valo lelkem-ismereti legyen az Isten elott mind emberek elott minden-koron. Janos Jansonius altal Tspregi Turkovitz Mihaly koltsegevel.
Amsterodamban, 1648.
12°, [viii] 249 pp. [i]
EN

Az ember eletenek, boldogul valo igazgatasanak modgyarol.- Angliai Theologusnak irasabol, Magyar Nyelvre Forditttatot Iratosi T. Janos.

Lorintz Brever, Locse, 1637.

12°, [38], 138 pp.
EN

Patika Szerszamos Bolt. Az az sok-fele haloloknak termeszetekrol, es azoknak nemeirol. Es ismet Az jol es bodogul valo meghalasnak nodgyarol valo tanitas. Iratot - Angliai Theologus altal. Magyar nyelvre Forditttatot Iratosi T. Janos ... altal.

Lorintz Brever, Locse, 1637.

12°, [iv] 331 [v]
EN
(These are in one volume and are How to live and die well.)

Br[ewer] Locse, 1651.

12°, [441] 136; [34] 336 pp.
BN Budapest.

Debreceni T Istvan: Kettos kereszet es kisertet alatt nyogo keresztyen embernek lelki orvoslasa.

I.Toltesi, Debrecen, 1685.

12°.
BN Budapest.

APPENDIX THREE

TRANSCRIPT OF THE NOTES OF FOUR OF PERKINS' SERMONS - PEMBROKE MS L.C.2.164(Fol. 184a-186b).

I. I Sam. I.9.

'Then Annah rose up' etc.' The sum of these words is this: that when as Elkanah with his two wives came up to Siloah, where the tabernacle of the Lord was, for to pray there, Peninnah reproached Hannah because she was barren, and therefore she rose up, for to pray unto the Lord that he would deliver her of this reproach.

For the explanation of this, we must know that after
I Sam.13. they had offered sacrifice to the Lord, they made a feast. Of this we may read in the 13 chapter of this book. This custom was also retained in the New Testament, as in the
I Cor.12. I Corinthians 12, that as when they had sacrificed, they constituted a feast, showing thereby their wilfulness. And so here, this cheerfulness is not in doing their service to God. There is a great curse upon them. To apply that to ourselves, there is, God be thanked, the administration of the word and sacraments amongst us, but there wants this alacrity. And why? Because that in this service we join hand with the world. But the Lord abhorreth this manner
Rom.3. of dealing, when as they will seek to please both the world and God.

'And Eli the priest sat upon his ...' The temple here may breed some difficulty how it should be understood,

since there was no temple at that time. But by the word may be understood the tabernacle, or any place of prayer. In these words we are to observe certain points of doctrine. Whereas it is said that Eli sat upon a stool by the post of the temple, we are to follow his example: that as (that as) he remained continually before the door of the temple that he might view those that thither came to prayer, and might resolve them of any doubt or question which they should frame, so the ministers must continually [be] resident at their charge, that they may be ready to dissolve the doubts of their consciences, for they must needs be resolved as soon as Satan doth move them or else he will get more liberty in them. And therefore the minister ought to be resident to remove them.

'And she was troubled in mind, and she was reproached, and therefore she was humbled in mind.' There are 2 points of doctrine. First, that afflictions, whether they be inward or outward, be especial means in God's servants to stir up the good graces of God in them. And therefore the freedom of a troubled conscience is a great judgement upon any people. The second point is this -- in all trouble to seek help at the Lord and pray to him. But this is not so amongst us, but as it was with Ahaziah which after he fell out of the window, he sent to Beelzebub the god of Akron to know whether he should live or die, and not to the true God. And so it is amongst us that many

do forsake the true God in their troubles and look to the armies of the devil for help.

'And she vowed to the Lord.' Hannah she not only pray[ed] to the Lord, but she also made a vow unto him. And the people of God have one general vow to the obedience of God. The vow of the New Testament is baptism, the vows of the Old Testament are ceremonial works. And now is to be considered four circumstances. First it is part of God's service, because in the New Testament he hath not bound us to any vow, secondly it must be in our power to
Vowe 4. do it, 3 it must be according to our profession and baptism, 4 it must be according to the will of God. The vows of the church or Rome they be contrary to the word of God, as the vow of poverty and singleness.

'If thou wilt look on me thine handmaid etc.' This is an example for all fathers and mothers if they have male children. Those that have the best wits they ought to consecrate them to the Lord. Why doth the Lord give to thy child then forwardness, but to the end thou give it to him again? But this is clean contrary to the world, for they will first serve the world, and if they have anyone that is lame or impotent they will set him to the school and will vow him to the Lord. There is nothing so vile, or of so base account amongst the common people as to be a 'prieste' as they call them. But it is a blessed calling, and as it is here said that they be given

unto the Lord, and therefore they have great honour thereby.

'There shall no razor come of his head.' This doth signify that he should be a Nazarite. This was a ceremony amongst the old Jews, that they would not cut their hair. And as the Nazarite was, as it were, separate from the people, so our Saviour Christ he was called a Nazarite in that he was separate from sins. Though we come to the church and to sermons and yet are after the world, we must not think that we be Christians. But we must be Nazarites, we must sever ourselves from the world if we will become good Christians.

'And as she continued praying.' Here are 2 points of doctrine. The first is of Eli that he did mistake her in her prayer, imagining her to be drunk, which sin
Rom.1.29. was counted a very great sin even amongst the Gentiles. And is it not so with us? For what will they say if they see one(?) profess the word of God? By and by they will say he is an hypocrite. The false witnesses of
Mat.27. Christ are called false witnesses and yet they repeat the very same words that Christ did, even only for mistaking the words. Therefore we must, if we can, expound the words of all men, and also of the wicked in the better part. The second point of doctrine is that her lips moved only, where we are taught when we are to pray privately, before that how we are to behave ourselves. She only giveth a sign of prayer.

'Annah poured forth her soul, etc.' Many people will say the Lord's prayer by rote only, not knowing the meaning of the words. But their prayers are abominable to the Lord, for we ought to pour forth our souls before the Lord. This is a proper note of God's service, to pour forth their souls.

II. 2 Cor. 4.3-4.

'If the gospel be hidden from any of you, it is hidden from those that perish.' In the former verse, Paul he maketh manifest the truth by his preaching, and it was plainly taught unto the people. Now lest it should be objected that because it was so plainly taught, therefore all might understand it, he saith here that it is hidden to none but to those that perish. And in the fourth verse, he setteth down the cause why the Corinthians was so blind, namely that it was because the devil had blinded their eyes.

'If the gospel be hid.' The I. doctrine that we learn here is this, that the not receiving of the gospel is a note of a reprobate. This doctrine, therefore, is not devised by man, but set down here by the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost doth not set down this for a certain note of reprobates, but for a dangerous and probable note of a reprobate -- as such a sign that may be recovered. (?)

Now to apply this to ourselves. The doctrine of the gospel hath been preached in this place a great while, and therefore let this warn the hearers to receive the gospel, lest they bear in them the sign of a castaway. Some amongst us run away to hear the word, but then they must have it framed according to their own affections. But as it cutteth them on their sins, then they rebel against the minister. They have not yet taken on them the yoke of our Saviour Christ.

And therefore if there be any thus affected, they are in a dangerous case. And therefore ignorance and rebellion and loathing of the word of God, they be great signs and tokens of ~~castaways~~ reprobates. And they that flout and jeer at the gospel they carry great and dangerous tokens of castaways. So that these 4 sorts of ~~reprobates~~ men may be hearers of the word and yet they carry the notes of reprobates. For if the gospel be preached and not received, their end is corruption. If thou shouldest see the tokens of plague upon thee, thou wouldest shiver and quake at them, although they may make but an end of this life. And therefore if thou seest these tokens upon thee which are able to carry thee to hell, how much more oughtest thou to tremble?

4 notes of reprobates.

Asimili.

The 2 doctrine is that a minister may judge according unto Gods word. The proof is manifest in this place and in the I Corinthians. And we may see in Matthew that

A minister may judge.

I Cor.14.25.

Mt.16. there the keys of heaven are committed to Peter to bind and loose, and therefore the minister he hath power to bind and loose. And he must show the people that they are under the law of damnation. Yea, and he hath power to bind them up as faggots to hell fire, if they repent not. The ignorant they accuse the minister because he judgeth the people, but he may be bold to judge them so far as the word of God affordeth.

The 3 doctrine that we are here to learn is that there are certain men that shall perish.

And 4, the enemies of the gospel are ordained to judgement and therefore let us make use of this. First by considerations. We are to fear and tremble. Paul

Rom.11. saith, be not high minded, but fear. And David he saith,

Ps.119:120. my flesh trembleth O Lord, for fear of thy judgements.

Hab.3.16. And the prophet saith, Lord when I consider thy judgements, there is molteness in my bones. The 2 use is that with all diligence we make our election sure. Many consider their little dangers, but few this greatest evil of all that ye are in dangerous condemnation. Art thou sure that thou art the child of God? Take heed, for thou art in a dangerous case, for thou canst not assure thyself of thine election, except thou be sanctified.

Satan the god of this world.

Ephe.2.

'In whom the God of this world ... ' He is called the god of this world not because he is so in deed, but because men hath make him so. How is this? Look on

whom they bestow their hearts, there is their God. But yet they will say, we serve the true God, yet the disposition of their hearts is led away by the devil. Wicked they be [who] put their affiance in the devil, and those that seek for counsel to them, and so they make him their God. Others are said to have their hearts led away by the devil, but not so directly. They are said to make
Philip. 3.19. their belly their God, and the devil is the cause of this.
Eph. 5.5. Paul calleth those idolaters that make their riches their god, for they have more care of them than of the true God. The devil therefore is their god, because he is the cause of it. And therefore whosoever bestoweth his heart on anything but on the true God, he maketh the devil his god.

Now let us apply it to ourselves. Every sabbath day, we come to hear God's word, yet we may have the devil for our god, and therefore thou must look how thy heart is affected. And if it be not most upon God, then Satan is thy god. Satan will let God have the show, but he will keep the heart. Satan is he that is aggressor when he lieth at the point of death. Be not corrupted. Surely he was but an open professor, otherwise the devil would have raged over him.

III. Heb. II.7.

Noah's ark 'By faith Noah being warned of God etc.' In the beginning of this chapter, the Holy Ghost hath set down

the doctrine of faith -- that it was a demonstration of things not seen, of the which he hath brought many examples, amongst which he bringeth in this of Noah.

The meaning of this verse if you will know you may read the 6 and 7 chapters of Genesis, for this doth contain a brief sum of the same. In this place we are to consider 5 points. First, God admonished Noah; 2 Noah believed God; 3 he was moved with fear; 4 in showing his obedience, he buildeth the ark, and that for 2 uses:- first, for to save his family, 2 to condemn the world; 5 he is made heir of righteousness by faith.

He was admonished of the Lord but how, for then the Word was not written, but amongst the 3 persons. The Son, which is the 2 person, hath the execution of every action, and therefore the 2 person did illuminate his mind. But how did he this? The Lord conveyed his word into the hearts of his servants 3 manner of ways -- by voice, by dreams, by vision. By some of these 3 means he revealed his counsel to Noah.

Revelation 3 manner of ways.

But some may ask how shall we know this, for it may be he was deluded? The devil, though he do strangely delude many, yet he cannot give them gifts to execute it. But the case was otherwise with Noah. So this is a plain difference betwixt the illuminations of the devil and the illuminations of God.

In the 2 place we are to consider what it was that he

revealed. It was a thing not yet seen. He revealed this unto him 120 years before it should come to pass. And we see here that the Lord he was no less provident (?) to keep and preserve his church, than he was to foretell them of this danger, for he bolted the door on the outside. And therefore though that his church be never so small in number, and his enemies never so many, yet the Lord will always be provident of his church. The example is that he believed things not yet seen. This is the surety of any faith when as we do believe the thing that is not yet seen. In the order of nature we must not believe anything,

Faith but that whereof we have experience. But it is clean otherwise in the Lord's matters, for first we must believe that God's promises are sure, then we shall have experience afterward. And therefore though thou see the devil, as it were, to buffet thee, and God so stand against thee as an enemy, yet thou must believe God's promises to be firm.

The 3 point was how he was moved with a reverend fear. He was shaken with a fear as though the judgement was at hand. Let us apply this to ourselves, for very few are so touched that they fear the judgements of God. But we must learn that when we hear God's judgements, that

Habakuk 3.16. then we fear as though they were present. As David saith,

Psalm 119.20. Lord my flesh trembleth for fear of thy judgements.

The 4 part is that he builded the ark. Here we must note in Noah a pliable heart to work and to the obedience

of God. Though he was mocked of the world, yet he proceeded in his duty. We know all our duties and therefore we must say, Lord give us grace to do that which thou commandest, and command what thou wilt. For whatsoever the Lord commandeth, that we must do though we lose our lives for it.

To what end did Noah build the ark? For two causes. I to save his family, and not only to save them from the flood, but also to save their souls. And therefore this teacheth every master of an household to have care of the same, not only of the food, but also of their souls. For in that family where the master hath no regard of the souls of his family, the hog is far better than their child. For the hog when it dieth it hath then an end of the misery where in it lived, but when the child dieth, that is but a beginning of the misery.

The 2 thing is that by it he might condemn the world 2 ways. Of the I by his obedience. 2 by his ministry. His obedience condemned the world in that they scorned.
Luke 11. As it is said, Luke II that [the] Queen of [the] South shall condemn the Jews, and also the Ninevites should condemn them because of their obedience.

Now to apply this. There are some amongst us that when they hear the word of God, they are obedient to the same. Yet there be the greatest sort which (which) will not obey it, but will mock it. But let them know that

the obedient shall rise up in judgement against them to condemn them.

2 he condemned the world by his ministry. The administration of the sacrament ~~was~~ is a great (.....)[1] of the ministry. So this building of the ark was a part of the ministry of Noah, for he called them to repentance by his preaching, but they mocked them at. And every speech that he gave upon the word was a sermon to call them to repentance. Nevertheless they would not believe. The preaching of the word if it be not received, saith
Rom.2.16. Saint Paul, the world thereby shall be condemned.

Now to apply this to ourselves. You have heard the word of God out of this place plentifully, and hast thou not yet left thy sins behind? Behold so many sermons as thou hast heard preached, so many indictments shall be given up against thee at God's judgement seat. And therefore if you have not been obedient unto it, it had been better for you that you had lived in Turkey. Eli's
I Sam.2.25. sons they would not obey their father, because the Lord would destroy them. And therefore if thou wilt not obey, it is an awful sign that the Lord will condemn thee. This also goeth to the minister himself, for if he preach the word, and obey it not, he writeth so many indictments against his own self.

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1. This word is not clear.

'He was made heir of righteousness by faith', that is by the righteousness of Christ. In the world we magnify a man if he be an heir to a man of great wealth, but the Holy Ghost he magnifieth Noah here, for that he was made the heir of righteousness by faith.

IV. Eccles. 12.1-7. (1)

'Remember the Creator in the days of thy youth etc.' We see here Solomon addresseth his speech to the young man of [Israel?] charging him to remember his Creator. Then in 2 ways he calleth those which are opposite to youth, because those things which flourish then decay.

In the 2 verse he declareth the decay of the eye sight when these things begin not to be so clear as then was, nor the clouds return after the rain. As if he should say it behoveth the youth to remember their Creator, because their sight returneth sure. By 'the keepers of the house', he meaneth the arms which they are not able to pluck to them for want of vigour. And by 'strong men' here he meaneth the youth, and especially the things they shall say. By 'the grinders of the meal,' he meaneth the teeth, for they then do fail. 'And they wax dark which look out by the windows.' By this means he the eyes. By 'doors' he means the mouth and all the parts of their bodies.

'And he shall rise up in the voice of the bird', that

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1. Possibly by Chaderton.

is his humours shall be wasted, that he shall wake easily. And the daughters of singing shall be abased, that is so he shall not take delight in the music. They shall be afraid of the high thing, because of the weakness of every part of their body, and they shall be afraid in the way.

'And the almond tree shall flourish', that is the hairs (?) shall (.....).[1] 'And the grasshopper shall be a burden', that is he shall not be able to break anything. Their concupiscence shall decay, that is as concupiscences. 'For man goeth etc.' This is the reason of the former speeches.

'While the silver cord ..' By this is meant the ways we fear in the bones. By the silver cord is understand the skin. This condemneth the vayne.(?) And by the pitchers[2] And the whole is broken in the cistern, that is all the faculties of the mind do perish.

Now to come to these words. He meant Solomon exhorting the young man to remember his Creator doth teach us many lessons why this memory is the best, the freshest, yet concerning divine matters it is very oblivious and forgetful. And therefore this preacheth to the young and is very necessary.

When we see the word of God doth not not only so instruct the young man but doth also serve to regenerate

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1. This word is not clear.
2. The writer appears to have omitted something here.

his mind. For what saith he if thou wilt not remember his walk in thy way, yet know that the Lord will call thee to judgement, though men do so walk in their youth, because they remember not their Creator.

First seek the kingdom of God, for if thou beginnest to delight thy memory with other things, then sure thou shalt not remember to fear thy Creator in thy ~~youth~~ age. He that gives thee every thing where in thy youth delighteth, remember that he is thy Creator and consecrate them to his glory. Bestow not the strength of thy brow to vanity, but to the Lord.

Hast thou received any good gift, either in thy mind or thy body, remember thy Creator in all [of] them. But if thou forgettest God in thy youth, thou shalt have no comfort in thy age. But why will some man say, may not I, as others have done, follow mine own delight and afterwards turn to the Lord? Solomon saith, go to then young man, and take thy pleasure, but know thou shalt not be called to repentance,but to judgement. Marry but we see many that have been loose in their youth have now repentance. It may be so, but if it be that which shall always comfort thee, there be very few shall do even this. The Lord saith if thou wilt forget him, he will forget thee while thy evil days come. Here Solomon saith and noteth unto us that those days which follow the strength of age are nothing fit to serve the Lord.

When a man is sick, is not his mind called to consider of his pain from remembering the Lord? So when the faculties of thy mind and body do decay, thou wilt draw thy mind from the Lord to think upon them. Though thou be an(d) old man and want the faculties of the outward man, yet if thou hast dedicated thy body to the service of the Lord, thou shalt enjoy the faculties of the inward man more abundantly than ever thou hadst it.

And if thou hast so remembered thy Creator in thy youth though thou have not comfort in thine old age, yet this shall be thy comfort, that thou art still a young man in the Lord. And if thou hast any manhood, bestow it in resistance of the devil and all his temptations. Therefore although old age in it self gives discomforts, yet if he have his heart fixed on the Lord, this comfort shall vanquish the rest. And thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them. What comfort shalt thou have when as these sins leave thee. For except thou forsake them before they forsake thee, thou shalt not have the praises.

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